I.B.TAURIS

Photographing Biblical Modernity

Frank Scholten in British Mandate Palestine

Sary Zananiri

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To my mother, and my father, who – in different ways –
paved the roads I trod.

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Note on images

Images from the Frank Scholten Collection are supplied courtesy of the Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO) and Special Collections at Leiden University Library (UBL) under a CCBY creative commons licence. Unless otherwise noted in captions, all images are from the Frank Scholten Collection, and dated 1921–1923.

Frank Scholten rarely titled his photographs. Where titles have been given to a photograph either by captions in the books or notes on the back of photographs or in albums, I have used those. Where titles are not available, I have called them untitled in captions but given a descriptor of their content, often based on UBL's captions from the digitization.

Note on transliteration

In this volume the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES) has been used for Arabic transliteration, but for names and places with accepted spellings in English these have been used instead. Other non-Latin languages are in Anglicized transcription.

Introduction

I was first introduced to the photographic work of Frank Scholten (1881–1942) in 2018 as I was about to begin my postdoctoral research at Leiden University in The Netherlands under Dr Karène Sanchez Summerer. The remit of the Dutch Research Council (NWO) funded project *CrossRoads: European cultural diplomacy and Arab Christians in Palestine (1920–1950)* was to consider the cultural histories of British Mandate Palestine from a connected paradigm.[1] The Frank Scholten collection consists of over 26,000 images, most of which were produced over two and half years from 1921–1923 in Palestine. Central to considering a connected paradigm was the mobility of people, objects and ideas within a modern world of increasing globalization.[2] Photography provides a fertile territory for such analysis.

This book approaches Frank Scholten as a photographer, the body of photographs that he took as mobile objects and the content of his photographs which address the impacts, actions and reactions to the transformations that Palestine and Palestinians were undergoing. Such analysis embodies the physicality of the medium (the photograph), its movements, the narratives contained in the image frame – albeit through the perspective of a single photographer – and the transformational changes through which people lived.

Cultural diplomacy and photography are central to this book as connected and relational paradigms where photography is situated within networks of actors that extend far beyond the immediate production of an image into interlinked worlds of cultural, social and political change. A photograph can, for example, speak to different levels of historical analysis from the micro-level of everyday life to the macro-narratives of global change.[3] To photograph Palestine in the years after the First World War at the beginning of the British Mandate is as much about the recording of an individual's daily life as it is to photograph the much larger political currents which shaped that life: the lived experience of modernity that 'colonized local politics, cultural practices, and everyday life'.[4]

Historiography of photography and Palestine

There has been a significant growth in recent decades of historical studies on photography in Palestine and the region more broadly. Earlier scholarship focused primarily on Western photographers visiting Palestine or the Eastern Mediterranean. Such studies typically focused on photographers as case studies engaged with the implications of the photographs they produced, often linked to colonial subtexts and mediated by religious imagery.[5] A formative theoretical framework for thinking through such implications is *biblification*: the selective highlighting of the ancient religious past, while removing the traces of modernity from the photographic frame.[6]

With the decolonial turn, more recent scholarship has begun to address the photographic histories of Palestine and the region more generally through local photographic sources.[7] These scholars look to local photography to understand the cultural histories of the region from the 'inside'.

Analysing local photographs and the work of local photographers tells another story of the region. This may be through reading imaging conventions and their implications for a lived experience of modernity[8] or the ways in which gender was performed and imaged with respect to class.[9] Other historical accounts complicate perspectives with photographic collections that were amassed and then re-narrated from a local perspective, underscoring the importance of how an image is read, narrated and captioned.[10]

Reading is a foundational element of many of the new histories on local photography, from reading gender and class to couching positionality with regards to modernity. In each of these instances, books have utilized photography as a historical source for understanding and extrapolating the social, cultural and political histories of the region from the perspectives of photographers, photo collections and even family albums.

The Scholten collection and the peculiarities of Frank Scholten as an individual (see Chapter 1) make the Scholten collection a fruitful source from which to analyse many different categories of identity and to understand the interactions between different elements of Palestinian society.

Scholten's Palestine collection was produced from 1921 to 1923, marking the years in which the British solidified and cemented their colonial mandate over Palestine. While the British Mandate only lasted thirty years, this was a formative period for understanding the country's trajectory: proto-nationalist Zionism, Arab nationalism, transnational and supra-national colonial entanglements,

and their impacts on the lived experiences of local people in the vacuum left by the dissolution of Ottoman rule.

This book reads photographs on both the micro-historical level of the individual, but also within a macro-narrative of societal change within global currents in which they lived.

Culture, photography and relationality

Conceptually, this book considers photography and culture as dynamic spaces of relationality in which representations are forged and consumed multi-directionally through a series of interactions and encounters. These relations are mediated by questions of identity, distance and positionality. Analysing the encounters that stem from these relations tells the story of an expanded series of actors involved both in the production of culture as well as photography.

It considers relationality on two levels. The first is involved in the photographic process, which analyses the relationships between photographer, photographic subject/object and the viewer. The second is the relationality of culture from a cultural studies perspective, particularly cultural diplomacy. This considers the networks of cultural production and consumption. While the former is deployed more from the perspective of individual actors, the latter situates those actors within larger macro-historical narratives which overlap with the former.

This relationality and the encounters produced by it have impacts on multiple levels, from the photographer and photographic object/subject to viewers a century later. They are shaped by institutions, political structures and the networks of cultural production and consumption through which they move. They also take on new meanings with time. As Ariella Azoulay reminds us:

> Photography is an apparatus of power that cannot be reduced to any of its components: a camera, a photographer, a photographed environment, object, person, or spectator. "Photography" is a term that designates an ensemble of diverse actions that contain the production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of the photographic image. Each of these actions involved in the photographic event makes use of a direct and an indirect force – taking someone's portrait, for example, or looking at someone's portrait.[11]

If, as Azoulay asserts, the photographic event captures a moment that by extension involves looking at a photograph, then a spectator's role unfolds in

time as a 'prolonged observation'.[12] While the photographic event may reach out to us relationally through time, it is also subject to networks of actors in the moment in which it was produced capturing information on the cultural – and by implication social and political – context from which it came.

This relationality might be seen as a mode of *meaning-making*, to draw from cultural studies paradigms. That is to say, the meaning of a cultural product is not fixed, but unstable and produced through the interactions and encounters involved in producing and consuming culture. A cultural studies approach to cultural diplomacy identifies four main actors in the process of meaning-making in cultural diplomacy: policy makers, agents (both individual and institutional), cultural producers and cultural consumers.[13] The model centres culture from a multi-directional perspective in which cultural consumers have as much role in shaping the successful implementation of cultural diplomacy as those who are proffering it, a process of meaning-making.

Applying such a model to photography as a visual medium, but one that, especially in the case of Scholten, has implications for understanding transnational cultural networks mediated by so many identities – him as photographer, those of the people in Palestine he photographed, those who view his photographs and the content of his photographs which encapsulate the capturing of another layer and process of meaning-making – is an important framework for analysis. As David Clarke writes:

> Cultural consumption is, firstly, a complex process of meaning-making, in which the boundary between cultural 'producers' and 'consumers' is blurred; and, secondly, that in the realm of culture both production and consumption are intrinsically bound up with the articulation and negotiation of identity in a social context.[14]

Photographs in the Scholten collection cover a diversity of communities in Palestine across many identity categories including religious affiliation, nationalist identity, class, urban–rural difference and questions of gender. Reading this complex terrain at the onset of the British Mandate necessitates situating the networks of actors who were embedded in the production of modern culture at that moment within a longer durational framework of the photographic event. The larger framework of culture – and its implications of macro-narratives on a global scale – and the microhistory surrounding the photograph interweave the individual and states or supra-national entities.

Likewise, cultural influence was not just a colonial tool, but part of a space which was contested by a host of different cultural and political agendas, from Arab nationalism to the growing role of the Zionist movement. By tracing

the relational aspects of photography and culture, it becomes possible to *read* photographs as cultural objects produced in specific cultural contexts.

Overview of this book

This book is ultimately centred around the connection between an individual photographer, foreign to Palestine, and the world he encountered and with which he interacted. As an inevitability, Frank Scholten's role as photographer is coloured by his individual perspective of Palestine as the British Mandate was being established. However, the collection also sheds light on Palestinian society and the diversity of ways in which it projected an image of itself.

By taking on a relational analysis, this book reads Scholten's photographs in dialogue with the many forces discussed above. It is structured around five chapters. The first chapter focuses on the life of Frank Scholten and the following four chapters are focused on ways of reading the photographic collection he produced through his particular positionality.

The first chapter establishes biographical information about Scholten and his unique positionality as a photographer visiting Palestine through an intersectional approach to identity that contextualize the chapters that follow. It documents his outputs including an exhibition in 1924 and two publications of his photographs. It delves into details about his identity, family background, personal life, religious conversion and legal troubles in Europe, which crystallized his project of producing an illustrated Bible and the rich photographic collection he left behind.

After the first chapter, this book considers the ways in which photographs can be *read* through a series of dynamic relational frameworks. The second chapter approaches this from the perspective of biblical representation both in photography and in the physical landscape that was undergoing physical transformation. It analyses the Palestine that Scholten entered in 1921 and the implications of both modernity and productions of the 'Holy Land' by Palestinian and non-Palestinian actors alike. It argues that Palestine mirrored the biblical expectations of cultural consumers and advances the idea that the 'Holy Land' was produced through multi-directional influences mediated by biblical representation. This production of the 'Holy Land' was part of a *culture of religion* with which photography was entangled.

The third chapter looks at three specific methodologies for reading Scholten's photography. It considers this through identity at both the individual and

communal level to look at the modern transformations taking place in the years that Scholten was in Palestine. The first section uses the biblical scriptures that Scholten ascribed to certain photographs to understand cultural connections as well as his opinions and proximity to his subjects. The second section looks at his photographs of events to understand the meso-level of networks, in this case communalism. The third section problematizes the transnational and transcultural readings of queerness within the collection setting down important points for analysing identity in the following chapters.

In the fourth chapter identity and social performances are read through the prism of communalism, nationalism and the aesthetics of indigeneity. It deals with modern Palestine as a multi-communal space, not just from the perspective of ethno-religious difference, but also in terms of class and different social frameworks including urban, rural and Bedouin life. It proposes the notion of biblical indigeneity as a framework for understanding modern nationalist identities analysing social performances that bridged inter-communal spaces in Scholten's photography. It traverses the bohemian life of Jaffa to villages and the *fellahin* (fellāḥīn) to look at the ways in which indigeneity was constructed and mobilized through a biblical lens.

The fifth chapter completes the book by reading spectrums of masculinity through Scholten's photographs and the imagery he collected. It builds on the notions of biblical indigeneity advanced in the previous chapter to look at the ways in which biblical narrative, modernity and nationalism came to a confluence in the reading of masculinity in Scholten's photographs. It considers how masculinity informed various modes of nationalism, invoked biblical narrative and raised the spectre of queerness. It traces Scholten's interactions with men and how he framed masculinity in Palestine from a transnational perspective. It also considers how his religious conversion interacted with his desires. In doing so, it addresses a period of growing nationalisms with their deviating visions in a time of great political flux.

Finally, an epilogue reflects on the legacy of Frank Scholten, the collection he left and the implications of biblical modernity a century later.

Between silence and reading

In many ways, this book is an elegy to the project of Palestinian modernity, despite the class implications that any analysis of photography, photographic access and modernity might entail.[15] While at the macro level, modernity might be seen as

a relationship to developing technologies or the ways in which bureaucracies sought administrative innovation, it was also lived experience both individually and collectively.[16] This book considers the impact of modernity as a lived experience on various different groupings across a range of communal, ethno-national, religious, class and geographic divides. It eschews the perspective of a modernity that was introduced to Palestine by outside forces,[17] but nonetheless accounts for the transformations that British colonial rule brought through a multi-directional paradigm of connection and agency.

While the Scholten collection provides vast visual information, there is only scant textual sources on his time in Palestine (see Chapter 1 for details), a frustrating archival silence for the scholar. While we are given glimpses into Scholten's social life and his very broad networks, there is little in the way of granular details of who he interacted with and how they felt about him beyond cursory information in postcards he wrote and the significant visual archive he left behind.

These silences necessitate a strong methodology for analysing visual materials and contextualizing them within the 'manifest, visual expression of the radical social, political and economic transformations of the era'.[18] Indeed, by situating the images discussed in this book within broader currents of society – whether locally in Palestine or transnationally – new networks of actors are introduced into the reading of images.

These situated readings offer new ways of thinking through the silences of the archive. An image is contextualized not just within the individual or individuals imaged, but within a broader cultural, social and political world, with all the relationalities that come to bear on that captured moment, and even the cultural consumption of an image a century later. This methodology claims the 'surplus truth value of photography'[19] through situated readings that expand the photographic event in a way that is inclusive of such relational contexts.

1

Situating Frank Scholten

Hailing from the upper echelons of Dutch society, François Scholten, better known as Frank, was a queer Dutch photographer who was born in 1881 and died in 1942. The young Frank was born and grew up in the family home in a prestigious Amsterdam neighbourhood at Amstel 222 (see Figure 1.1). The house had been inherited by Frank's father from his grandmother, just a few months before Frank was born.

Frank's father, Petrus Wilhelmus Scholten (1835–1913), was the Commissioner of Securities for one of the top stock broking and investment firms, *Weduwe Tjeenk en Compagnie* [Widow Tjeenk and Company]. The firm had been established under the name of his great-grandmother Gesina Tjeenk after the death of her husband, Caspar Willem Reinhard van Bergen. Frank's father, grandfather and great-grandfather had been among the top officials of the firm since its establishment.[1]

Petrus Scholten married twice in his lifetime. His first marriage was to Frank's mother, Jonkvrouw Elisabeth Maria Anna Henriëtte van Bevervoorden tot Oldemeule (1855–1889).[2] The term Jonkvrouw is an aristocratic title that translates as 'young lady', denoting untitled nobility. They had two children. First Helena Gerardina (born 1876) and then Frank (born 1881). Jonkvrouw Elisabeth's family became part of the aristocracy in 1837, after the establishment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the wake of independence from France. She died in 1889 when Frank was only eight years old. A year later Frank's father was remarried to Jonkvrouw Maria Anna Ploos van Amstel (1854–1937),[3] and together they had a further two children, Maria Anna (born 1891) and Petrus Wilhelmus (born 1897).

Jonkvrouw Maria was descended from several lines of influential Dutch families that included mayors, lawyers and merchants. Her parents were Boudewijn Jacobus Ploos van Amstel (1824–1885), a lawyer and vice-president of *Arrondissementsrechtbank* [District Court] and Maria Anna Clifford (1826–1862), making Maria a direct descendant of the Six family on her mother's side. The Six family were particularly well known for their patronage

Figure 1.1 *Amstel* (1918–1920).
Amsterdam Album: 06

of the arts over the centuries, including several family members who were painted by Rembrandt in the seventeenth century. In 1915, the Six family estate moved two doors down from the Scholtens at Amstel 218.

Scholten attended university in Berlin before the First World War, though he returned to Amsterdam periodically.[4] The bohemian milieus in both cities brought him in contact with the social and political world of the early homosexual emancipation movement.[5] For at least some time he stayed at the house of famous German psychiatrist Magnus Hirschfeld, who founded the Scientific Humanitarian Committee (*Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee*, WHK), which was dedicated to LGBT rights. The full extent of Scholten's relationship to Hirschfeld and the WHK is unknown, but is mentioned briefly in a letter written by Scholten to the Dutch Chief Inspector of Police from Hirschfeld's address in Berlin on 24 September 1910.[6]

It is unclear how Frank Scholten came to learn the craft of photography, although by the early twentieth century the medium had become increasingly

accessible both in Europe and the Ottoman Empire.[7] It is possible that he learned this in Berlin where he was studying prior to the war, but no evidence has yet been unearthed.

Although Scholten's family were wealthy Protestants, Frank converted to Catholicism. His baptism took place at St Vincent's Church in Volendam in 1919, but the earliest mention of Catholicism in his correspondence is in 1912.[8] Prior to his travels to Palestine, Scholten was actively meeting with hierarchies of the Catholic clergy in Rome, including an audience with the Pope in January 1920.[9] This indicates that he was well established and networked in Catholic circles by then.

Scholten arrived in Palestine in April 1921 and stayed until late November 1923,[10] with the intention of producing an illustrated Bible. It is unclear from the limited correspondence and textual material available how well shaped Scholten's plans were prior to leaving the Netherlands. Some version of the idea clearly pre-existed his travel plans, given that he brought a library of 6,000 books with him.[11] Certainly, the necessity of leaving, which I will discuss below, opened a space for his project and the production of an incredibly historically valuable photographic archive.

Addressing Scholten's photographic collection in this book is neither about the man himself as an individual nor the Palestinian society he imaged, but about the series of dynamic relations that such a project entailed. If we are to take photography as a historical source,[12] the Scholten collection sheds light on the ways in which identity categories such as ethnicity, religion, class, gender and sexuality mediated a series of transnational encounters and interactions. Photography, here, acts as a mediator in which we can understand different currents in Palestinian society, how they interacted with one another and what they can tell us of Scholten's attempts as an individual to make sense of them through his own diverse identities and experiences. In this sense, this book is about the relations and the networks that can be traced through his photography.

Scholten's conversion to Catholicism has implications for understanding how he imaged the boundaries and divisions of the social order he would come to document in Palestine. In the Netherlands, the social system of pillarization divided society into confessional and political spheres, with wide-ranging consequences for the provision of healthcare and educational structures, and for the media outlets with which communities engaged.[13] The four 'pillars' were Protestant, Catholic, liberal and socialist.[14] Scholten's conversion points to his particular sensitivity towards the similar structures of the Ottoman millet system. The millet system created spaces of administrative and legal autonomy for non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. This included Armenian, Greek Orthodox and

Jewish millets, with the later addition and recognition of other communities such as Catholics and Protestants.[15] The millet system had been reshaped significantly during the Ottoman Empire's nineteenth-century Tanzimat Reforms (1839–1876) and were still mediating daily life when Scholten arrived in Palestine, despite the significant changes brought by the incoming British regime as its mandate was formally being established. For Scholten, the social ramifications of communalism in the Ottoman millet system would have been familiar to a Dutchman who had grown up within the context of pillarization. Moreover, his conversion to Catholicism – a transgression of communal boundaries – gave him a sense of what it meant to operate in and across different social spheres.

In 1920, Scholten was arrested by the Dutch police in connection with Adrianus Kakebeen (1851–1941) in relation to the male prostitution houses run by the latter in Amsterdam's De Pijp area. The working-class area of De Pijp was also the setting for Jacob Israël de Haan's openly gay novel *Pijpelijntjes* (1904),[16] which spoke frankly about sexual relations between men. Upon being bailed out of jail, Scholten fled the Netherlands, first to Rome, from where he later travelled to Palestine via Greece and Egypt. Scholten's legal predicament in the Netherlands is likely to have been a major catalyst in his decision to travel to Palestine.

As a man of independent means, Scholten wasn't concerned by the typical financial dimensions of operation as a commercial photographer, such as the business activity of those in Palestine who often centred religious narratives and views of the 'Holy Land' for which there was a considerable consumer market.[17] Nonetheless, as a devout Catholic, religion certainly played a significant role in shaping Scholten's perspective. Later, however, he would come into financial problems during the Great Depression of the early 1930s, and financial matters would become a significant rift between his stepmother, and Frank and his sister.[18] Scholten's conversion to Catholicism also appears to have informed these familial rifts.

The main historical source for Scholten's time in Palestine is the vast photographic collection he left to the Netherlands Institute of the Near East (NINO) consisting of around 14,000 negatives, 12,500 photographic prints and sixty-five albums. Another rich source is Scholten's near daily postcard correspondence with a sickly church-going friend of his in Volendam, Geertje Pooijar. While Scholten's communication with Geertje is punctual and consistent, the nature of postcards means we have only cursory textual information directly from Scholten himself about his day-to-day life during his travels, though the repetition of people and places mentioned in his postcards and documented in

his photos indicate an active and ongoing social life and friendships in Palestine. The photographic collection shows he clearly maintained relations with many different kinds of people, some even quite intimate friendships, but these visual clues in the photographic archive still need to be addressed through ongoing identifications of individuals to fully comprehend the extent of Scholten's social circles through other sources.

One particularly rich historical source is a facsimile of Scholten's two-volume photographic publication *Palestine Illustrated* that was annotated by Dr Hanna Habib Kayaleh (1913–1996), who grew up in Jaffa. It gives identifications of many of the people who were imaged in Scholten's book.[19] Kayaleh's annotations note a number of people from well-known Jaffa families, including the Roch family, but also other families such the Tamaris, Al 'Isas, Dajanis and many more. Indeed, with these identifications, it becomes clear how much more information can be gleaned on the circles in which Scholten moved by further tracing of individuals. It also demonstrates that Scholten had access to the elite circles of Arab society, from famous people like newspaper editor 'Isa al 'Isa, to the businessman, bohemian and member of the Arab Higher Committee, Alfred Roch. One can only hope that with continued identification of people and work on cataloguing the collection that a more comprehensive social mapping can be produced to generate social information, particularly with the advent of AI technologies and facial recognition software.

The many photographic portraits in both Scholten's published and unpublished images demonstrates an intimacy that is unusual in the photography of the period, especially those of a visiting photographer, as will be discussed in the following chapters. From access to elites, to the quirky images of workers and children, Scholten clearly had a way of engaging with people. This is certainly buttressed by the glowing reviews and recommendations of his books when they were published years later from 1929 onwards.[20]

The Frank Scholten collection

The Frank Scholten photographic collection consists of some 26,500 images comprised of individual loose photographs, negatives and albums each containing images he produced, the majority of which were taken in Palestine. Of these, there are around 14,000 negatives, 12,500 printed photographs, and sixty-five albums of photos each with various themes.[21] Most of these albums

Figures 1.2a and 1.2b Left: *Mosselenvisschers in de Haukes* (Wieringen) [Mussel fishermen in the Haukes (Wieringen)] and Right: *Voorjaarswind (Diemerbrug)* [Spring wind (Diemerbrug)]

Noord Holland Album: 06

are given geographic or thematic designations. While the vast majority deal with Palestine, the remaining albums are the main source of Scholten's images taken elsewhere, including in the Netherlands, UK, France, Italy and Greece. The Palestine albums typically relate to either a city or district, or with specific themes such as *Choses intéressante* (Interesting Things), *Maisons religieuses* (Religious Houses) or *Sanctuaires* (Sanctuaries).

An analysis of the digitized images from the collection was undertaken by the University of Leiden's (UBL) Special Collections. It indicates that there are many repetitions of images between photographic prints and negatives. The initial analysis suggests that there are around 17,000 unique images taken by Scholten in the collection that are sometimes printed from negatives multiple

times, although some of these are repetitions produced by Scholten having taken two very similar photos consecutively.[22]

Alongside these images produced by Scholten himself are an equally impressive library of images that he collected. Many of these images are photographs or prints cut from books or magazines, as well as images from postcards that have been compiled. There are also significant holdings of ephemera and books that he collected as well as his postcard correspondence, mostly with his friend Geertje Pooijar, as mentioned previously.

The photographs taken by Scholten appear to start from the late World War I period in the Netherlands (Figures 1.2a and 1.2b), to images of his travels through Italy and Greece in 1920 (Figures 1.3a and 1.3b) to the two and a half years he spent in Palestine arriving in April 1921 and leaving in late November 1923,[23] which comprise the bulk of the collection. There are also smaller collections of images from France, the UK and other parts of Europe, presumably taken when he later returned to Europe.[24]

Figures 1.3a and 1.3b Left: *Untitled* [Mosque of the Janissaries in Chania] and Right: *Untitled* [Portraits] (1921).

Greece Album: 10

Through the current cataloguing project, it has become evident that many of the collected images were in a process of being sorted by Scholten, a task that was never finished, although sixteen volumes of *Palestine Illustrated* were proposed (see below). Several categories emerge. The first are those images that have been pasted to card, with a reference to their source, be it a book or an artist, and a biblical quote (which is sometimes also appended with a particular translation of the Bible). These found images were annotated and generally pasted to boards in line with contemporary practices of archiving photographs of art historical subjects. The second category is unpasted, and just a clipping, with either a Bible quotation, a reference to its source, or both. The third category is other images that have been clipped from various locations that are not appended at all. This third category of material typically consists of smaller images that are of a less interesting quality. As Scholten collected and processed these found images, it would seem he either never completed the process or disregarded the third category as rejects.

When Scholten died in 1942 from complications related to a car accident, he left this array of material to the Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO) with a sum of money administered by the Leiden Municipality to complete his

published work and other scientific research on Palestine, Syria and the Sinai Peninsula.[25] Alongside this was his library, the collection of 'found images' including photographs, postcards, prints and images clipped from books, and other assorted ephemera. He also left notes towards a sixteen volume set of photo books titled *Palestine Illustrated*,[26] only two of which were published (though in four different language editions), and a sum of money to continue the production of his unpublished work, for which he left behind some notes and arrangements of images.[27]

It is clear from the context of the collection that Scholten's project was one that remained unfinished. Certainly, the tension between the illustrated Bible he set out to produce and a vision of Palestinian modernity at a time of great political flux with the solidification of the British Mandate are a palpable difference from many of the biblical concerns of other visiting photographers who travelled the region in the decades prior.

Reading the Scholten collection within the social context it was created in is important. Scholten used many taxonomies, particularly in the albums he produced, but also the two books he published. One of Scholten's hallmarks as a photographer is the thoroughness with which he taxonomized people. His images of people cut across religious lines, ethnic backgrounds, class and urban-rural divides. A brief inventory of groups he photographed includes Greek Orthodox,

Catholic, Melkite, Protestant, Muslim and Jewish Palestinians; German, Russian, Hungarian, Romanian, Bukharan, Moroccan, Persian and other Arab Jewish communities; British, French, German, Greek and Italian Europeans, as well as Americans, not to mention Egyptians, Sudanese and Indians.[28] Within many of these categories, we also see class divides, lending further gravity to a scholarly study that today might be seen as anticipating the development of the discipline of visual ethnography. He imaged people in the context of their daily lives, both at work and leisure, rather than in studio settings divorced from their lived context.

These effective demarcations speak to a desire to categorize and document the many different types of people in the 'Holy Land', effectively providing a typology of the populace. At the time, the British Mandate was yet to be ratified by the League of Nations and both the Balfour Declaration (formal British support for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine) and the McMahon-Hussein Correspondence (which proposed to grant Arabs an independent nation if they sided against the Ottomans in the First World War) were also in recent public memory.

In the albums Scholten collated and curated that are now part of the collection, he taxonomized either by geography (e.g. *Jerusalem Albums I–IX*, *Judaea I–XVIII* or *Transjordan*), or other themes like '*Chose Intéressante I–III*' or '*Sanctuaires I–VI*'. Meanwhile, on loose photographs, he sometimes wrote captions that were more humorous or perhaps sarcastic, like an image of one young man in Tel Aviv that says 'trying on a tarbouche' (see Figure 4.10).

Despite the plethora of visual information that Scholten left behind of his time in Palestine, there is little textual documentation from the two and a half years he spent there, aside from his postcard correspondence with Geertje, although Scholten did archive some of the key correspondences in relation to his work later on, including letters recommending and celebrating his books from key political and religious figures across Europe and the Middle East.[29] The frustrating textual 'silences' that might have been resolved by a diary, memoir or cache of letters around Scholten's time in Palestine necessitate understanding his life in the Netherlands prior to leaving for Palestine, as well as considering the correspondences he had with various people in the later 1920s and 1930s when he published his two volume books, in order to contextualize them with the vast body of photos he produced.

Scholten repeatedly remarked in later articles and interviews that he produced 22,000 photographs in Palestine.[30] In the Scholten collection, there are an estimated 17,000 unique images, consisting of about 26,500 items including negatives, prints and photos pasted into albums. This either means

that there are 4,500 more images in the collection if Scholten's count included the multiples of negatives and prints that he took which may be accounted for by photos of Europe or elsewhere. Otherwise, if we are to set the multiples aside, there is a shortfall of some 5,000 images. Again, the textual silences around the collection impact our contemporary understanding of the collection.

Scholten's outputs: from 'Palestine in Transition' to *Palestine Illustrated*

Scholten's two primary outputs during his lifetime were an exhibition titled 'Palestine in Transition', held at London's Brook Street Gallery for less than one week from 25–29 February 1924[31] and the first two volumes of *Palestine Illustrated*, both focused on Jaffa, which comprise part of a broader proposed book series of sixteen.

The exhibition was supported by the Anglo-Palestine Society, a British-Zionist organization that had been formed two years earlier.[32] This gives a sense of how highlighting the modernity of Palestine – and especially Tel Aviv and Jaffa – complemented Zionist agendas. A review in the *British Journal of Photography* was complimentary, stating, 'The exhibition is not, strictly speaking, pictorial in character. Though many of the photographs are pictorial in intent and effect, the collection as a whole is more in the nature of a camera record of Palestine under present-day conditions.' It continues: 'The collection embraces almost every phase of modern Hebrew life.'[33]

Scholten's documentary approach to Palestine and its communities was clearly something of a fascination to reviewers of the exhibition, giving a sense of Palestine beyond the usual clichéd biblical tropes with which British audiences were more familiar. The review in the *British Journal of Photography* ended with: 'The exhibition is one of much interest, and it is to be regretted that at such short notice many of those desirous of visiting it will probably be unable to take advantage of the opportunity.'[34]

Some newspapers went quite in depth. For example, the *Jewish Guardian* lauded Scholten's vision of Tel Aviv, the white city by the sea, and extolled the modern comfort of the new quarters of Jaffa captured by the photographs, projecting two overlapping – though ultimately divergent – nationalist visions of modern Palestine:

> Most entertaining of all is Tel-Aviv, a real Jewish city, Jewish planned, Jewish built and owned, and governed by a Jewish municipality. We start with arid desert, which is well portrayed. Then we see the entry of the builders and

> architects. Avenues are laid out, trees are planted, everywhere the builder is in evidence with feverish activity. Imagine the Arab set the same task, to build a fine city out of the desert! Under Jewish control a fairy town springs up.[35]

The longest of the exhibition reviews, it however continues: 'If Tel Aviv is of the greatest interest, Jaffa is not far behind. Here we mark in particular the comfort and apparent wealth of the new commercial quarter. In these architectural and landscape photographs, Mr. Scholten brings into play his artist's eye.'[36]

A review in *The Times* likewise dwelt on the theme of modernity and Zionist progress, but also briefly mentioned photos of the *Nabī Rūbīn* [Prophet Rubin] festival.[37] Its closing commentary mentions Tel Aviv specifically, saying: 'The views of Tel Aviv show a strange new Jewish city, not 12 years old, and almost American in its up-to-dateness.'[38]

Reading the reviews against one another, the main themes that are repeatedly reiterated speak about Zionist progress and modernity, which are undergirded by commentary on Scholten's documentary style. Taken in combination with the exhibition being sponsored by the Zionist Anglo-Palestine society, it demonstrates a British-Zionist cultural diplomacy in cultivating local perceptions of the newly acquired British colony.

However, the exhibition was not without controversy behind the scenes. In a postcard to his friend Geertje dated 16 February 1924 just days before the opening, Scholten wrote:

> Dear Geert, So busy with the exhibition. They are objecting the Catholic texts, but cannot persuade me to put Protestant ones on them. Prefer no exhibition. A Father is there to advise me. There is something with this Protestant majority. Bye now. Still your Frank.[39]

The brief correspondence speaks to a Catholic–Protestant difference in the approach to the exhibition. Sadly, no documentation such as a catalogue of the exhibition itself exists, which might shed light on the differences of opinion between the artist and organizers or indeed the content itself. This may, however, explain the short, five-day length of the exhibition. Certainly, other exhibitions in the 1920s held at the Brook Street gallery had catalogues, and other exhibitions from the period I was able to trace were typically held for around fourteen days.

It is unclear as to whether the differences of opinion were political as well as religious, but in another postcard dated Saturday 25 July 1922 postmarked from Jerusalem, Scholten complains that he left Jaffa not wanting to raise a

glass to 'the health of Jews and their possession of the H[oly] Land.'[40] The date is significant, just three days after the British Mandate over Palestine was formally granted by the League of Nations. While a year and a half separate the two postcards, taken together they would certainly suggest that Scholten was not a supporter of the Zionist movement, despite clearly having significant links with members of the Jewish communities in Palestine and elsewhere.[41]

Another question around Scholten's conflict with the organizers may have been more curatorial. Certainly, the image in Figure 1.4 shows a crowded and chaotic view of the exhibition, with relatively small prints mounted four to a frame, not neatly lined up, but in a hodgepodge of a grid. The newspaper clipping in Scholten's notebook is the sole surviving visual record of the exhibition.

In 1929, Scholten released *La Palestine Illustrée* in two volumes with the Parisian publishing house Jean Budry & Co. A year later, the German edition *Palästina* was released, and the English edition, *Palestine Illustrated*, in 1931 through London-based Green Longman. Only the first of the two volumes would be released in his native Dutch, in 1935. Plans for a Spanish edition had been scuttled. In a postcard to Geertje, Scholten wrote: 'What a mess in Spain. We are living in bad times. Nothing will come of my book in Spanish, probably.'[42] The postcard is dated a month after the deposition of King Alfonso XIII and the establishment of the Second Spanish Republic.

The Gate of Entrance, as the first volume was called, covers four chapters, the first on biblical sites in Jaffa, followed by one each on Christians, Jews and Muslims living in the city and its surrounds. The opening sequences of images, however, read far from the Orientalist clichés of an ancient and unchanging east famously critiqued by Edward Said,[43] but instead a mode of finding the religious in the mundane realities of daily life in the country. The book's opening sequence of images (figs. 2–8, in *Palestine Illustrated* Vol. I) show the lumber import industry in Jaffa Port, with the transfer of wood transported in ships (Figure 1.5). In a note to image 2 in *Gate of Entrance*, Scholten likens the building boom in post-war Palestine to the building of the biblical Temples. He notes that:

> The seaport of Jaffa was of great importance during the building of successive Temples. Even to-day, timber for building is unloaded at the same place. It no longer comes, however, from Lebanon, but from Roumania [*sic*].[44]

The photographic narrative documents the lumber transport taking place first in the port, then the shore and from there, the workers transport lumber by smaller

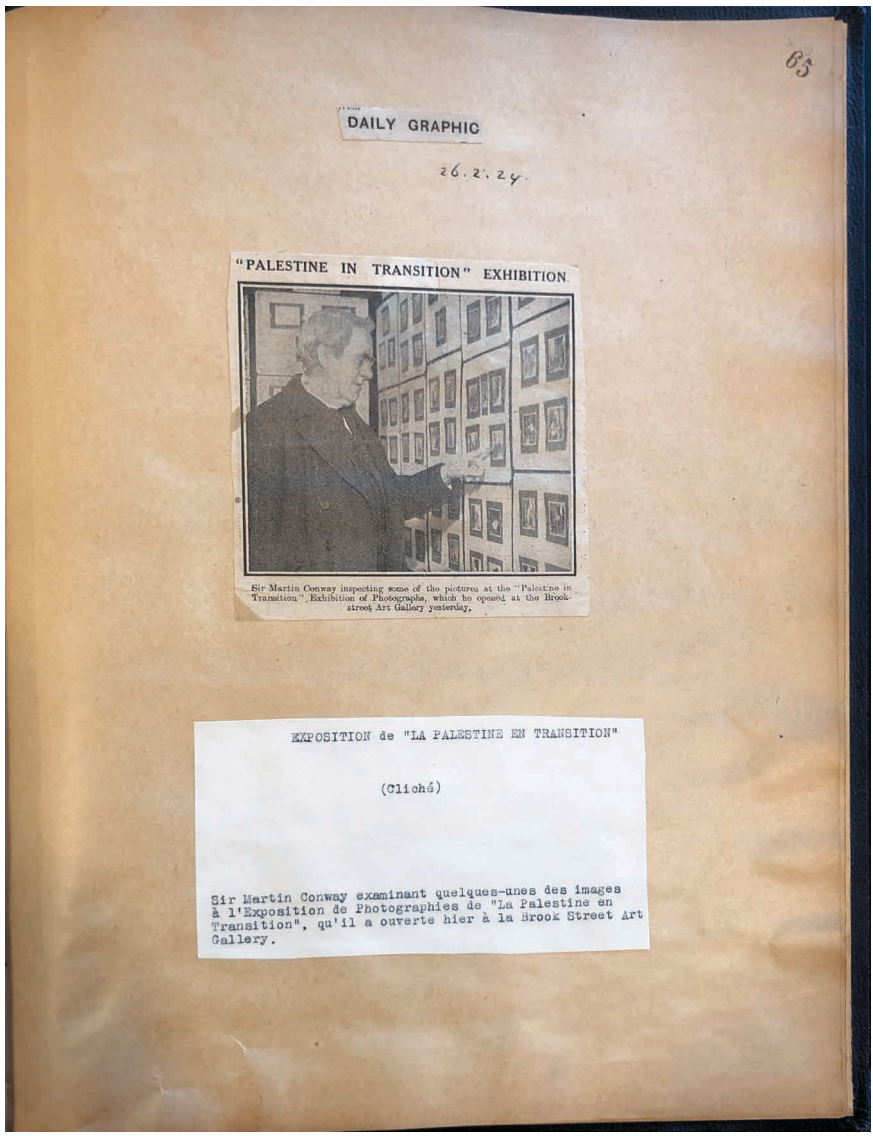

85
DAILY GRAPHIC
26.2.24.
"PALESTINE IN TRANSITION" EXHIBITION.
Sir Martin Conway inspecting some of the pictures at the "Palestine in Transition" Exhibition of Photographs, which he opened at the Brook-street Art Gallery yesterday.
EXPOSITION de "LA PALESTINE EN TRANSITION"
(Cliché)
Sir Martin Conway examinant quelques-unes des images à l'Exposition de Photographies de "La Palestine en Transition", qu'il a ouverte hier à la Brook Street Art Gallery.

Figure 1.4 Newspaper clipping from *The Daily Graphic* (February 1924). A photo of Martin Conway, who opened the exhibition, inspecting the works.

Scholten Collection, Box 95

boats from the ship to the shore and lay it in large piles for transportation by railway to Jerusalem.[45] Scholten's camera zooms out from the shoreline to the sea to discuss the tale of Jonah, before coming back to *terra firma* to document dockworkers both hard at work and in moments of leisure sitting at the city's

Figure 1.5 *Palestine Illustrated Vol. I*, fig. 8.

CF. 'Make thee an ark of timber planks' Gen. VI, 14.

Note: Timber planks on the beach of Jaffa, a reminder of the legend that 'it was there Noah built the ark'.
Lamartine, *Travels in the East*, p. 74 (From the French.)
CF. 'And we bore him (Noah) in a vessel(*) composed of planks and nails', in the Koran.
K., LIV, 13. The Moon, p. 511.
Also: 'Timber for the couplings of the buildings'.
2 Chr. (2 Par.) XXXIV, 11 (repairs of the Temple under king Josiah).
Digitized negative Porte Entrée 001–050: 48

various cafés.[46] These images depict the ways in which this thriving modern port city and the rural hinterlands surrounding it were also connected to a global history of trade connecting well beyond a local sphere.[47]

Indeed, themes of industry were also prominent in the second volume *Jaffa the Beautiful*, in which Scholten shows the orange growing and export industry, from orange groves to their cultivation, scientific information, to packing, crating and transport on small wooden boats in the harbour which would be craned onto larger steamers (images 223–259 in *Palestine Illustrated*). This photo essay also features modern elites, with an image of Alfred Roch (see Chapter 3), a businessman with significant financial interests in the orange growing industry and also, later, a key figure in the growing Arab nationalist movement in the interwar period. It is located in the subsection in section 1(4) of Chapter 2 titled 'Homes in the Gardens', images 194–204, to give a sense of Scholten's taxonomy.

Scholten's published works were received extremely well with compliments to him from Buckingham Palace, the archbishop of Canterbury, the Vatican, Mussolini and Nahum Sokolow, Chairman of the World Zionist Federation, to name but a few of the influential people to which his books reached and with whom he had correspondence.[48] The volumes were also reviewed in many newspapers from around the world, including the English language press as far away as Hong Kong and Australia, as well as the French, German, British, Dutch and Belgian press. They also appeared in media outlets publishing in many languages in which the books themselves were not published. In Palestine, the publications were reviewed in both the Arabic and Hebrew presses, including both 'Isa al 'Isa's Arab nationalist newspaper *Filastin* and *Haaretz*, the Hebrew language newspaper that had been founded in 1919.[49]

In contrast to the reviews of Scholten's modern visions in 'Palestine in Transition', much of what is referred to by the reviewers of his books is the importance of memorializing a moment in Palestine or the 'Holy Land' – as various nomenclatures relate to it – before the remaining dust of ancient times was obscured by the fog of modern development.

In an exchange of private letters, George Adam Smith, author of the foreword to the English edition of *Palestine Illustrated*, asked Scholten to remove some of the modern images in favour of more of the historical ones.[50] While we do not have Scholten's opinions on the matter, the fact the images remained consistent between the English and the previous German and French editions indicates Scholten's conviction in maintaining the particular selection of images that were presented. The only differences between the various translated editions seems to be some minor shifts in the use of citations, which typically adhere to different European language groups' colonial relations with communal groups in Palestine.[51]

In the two volumes of *Palestine Illustrated*, Scholten curated images of a thriving world of modern progress, but to explain them he left a complex and opaque set of citations to a plethora of other texts, ranging from holy scriptures (mostly Christian, but also Jewish and Muslim) and non-fiction about the region that included disciplines of history, theology, early ethnographic accounts, biblical tracts, among many other sources. He only very occasionally made these references explicit in the publications themselves, typically using a sort of shorthand notation rather than actual content from the works he cited.

The fact that the photos remain consistent across each of the language editions demonstrates that he had a methodology that was grounded in photographic evidence. Scholten's taxonomies of religious, ethnic and nationalist difference also have a confluence with Magnus Hirschfeld's taxonomies of gender and

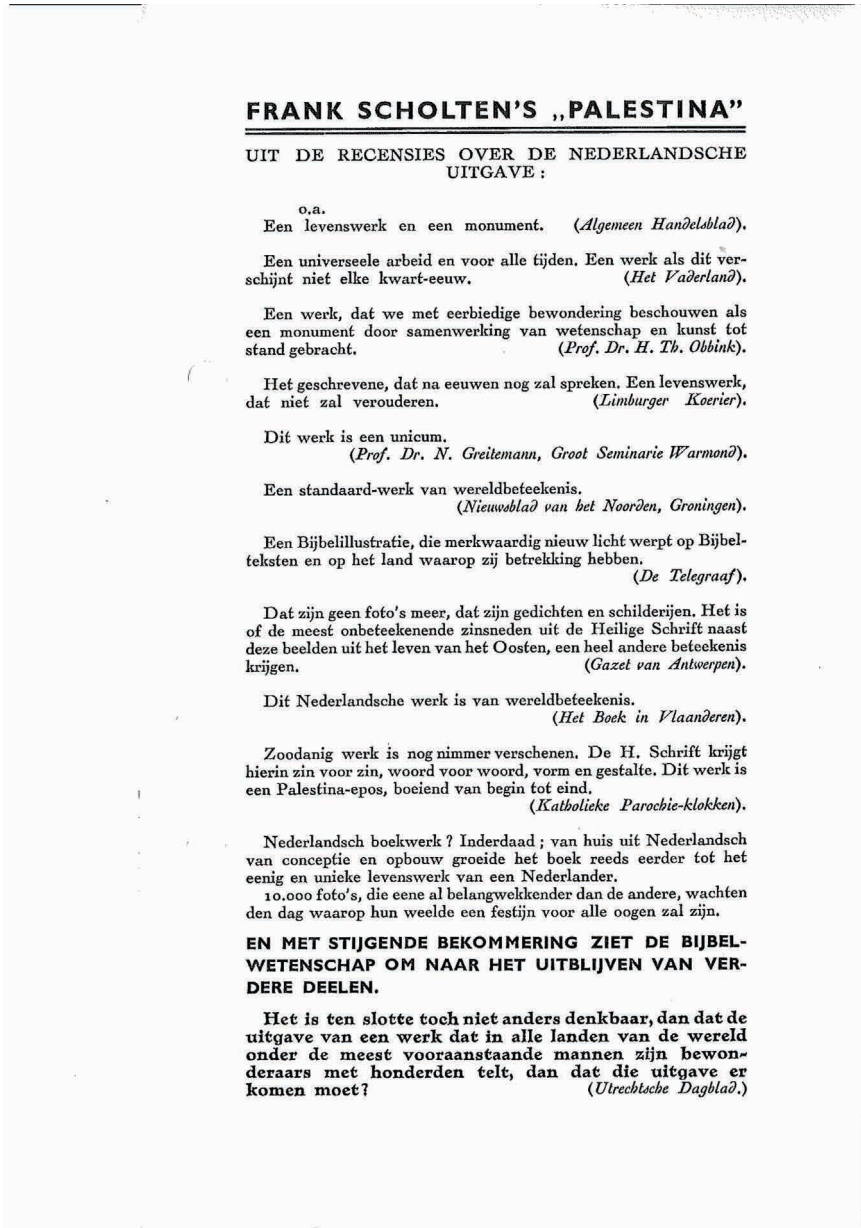
sexuality.[52] Scholten's proffering of photographic evidence demonstrates other scholarly understandings of the medium. One such example is the work of French photographer Auguste Salzmann, who made a camera study of Jerusalem in the early 1850s, utilizing photography as an evidence-based approach to understanding the archaeology of the region, albeit with a problematic lens (see Chapter 2).[53] Likewise, Scholten also spent at least some time with the Catholic Brothers of École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem (EBAF), a Franco-Dominican order dedicated to studying the Bible *in situ* in Palestine. Maintaining the same photographs across all four language editions (albeit with slight variances of citations), also points to a methodology of 'reading' the 'Holy Landscape' through biblical text, upholding the primacy of the image but also paradoxically, quotidian life in modern Palestine.

All this makes for a singular perspective of Palestine in which modernity, modern life and biblical narrative find a confluence in the ways he produced and framed his photographic work. Understanding this complex matrix of notations and citations enables us to lift the obfuscations around many of the silences surrounding his work. This entails a mode of decoding Scholten's complex cultural encodings.

The two volumes that were published were conceived as part of a much larger sixteen volume set.[54] A press release in Dutch that Scholten made (undated, but likely early 1930s) announces the indefinite postponement of the next volumes due to family circumstances (Figures 1.6a and 1.6b). In postcards to Geertje, Scholten complains of financial troubles that he and his sister were having in the economic volatility of the Great Depression of the early 1930s. By September 1931, he complains to Geertje about his stepmother's lack of help, saying: 'Such difficulties concerning money, it is making me sick. My mother has over one million guilders, but will not spend *even* [his emphasis] a cent to help my work, such hatred against Catholics.' The short postcard shows one aspect of the family's rifts, though it's clear that Scholten and his sister were in a similar financial predicament.[55] A number of postcards mention money as a primary factor in these rifts, but it is interesting to note that his conversion may have also played into this dynamic.

Scholten prior to Palestine

It is unclear exactly when Scholten developed the idea for producing an illustrated Bible and it is similarly unclear how he came to learn the craft of photography. Despite the circumstances under which he left the Netherlands, the idea predated



FRANK SCHOLTEN'S „PALESTINA"

UIT DE RECENSIES OVER DE NEDERLANDSCHE UITGAVE:

o.a.
Een levenswerk en een monument. (*Algemeen Handelsblad*).

Een universeele arbeid en voor alle tijden. Een werk als dit verschijnt niet elke kwart-eeuw. (*Het Vaderland*).

Een werk, dat we met eerbiedige bewondering beschouwen als een monument door samenwerking van wetenschap en kunst tot stand gebracht. (*Prof. Dr. H. Th. Obbink*).

Het geschrevene, dat na eeuwen nog zal spreken. Een levenswerk, dat niet zal verouderen. (*Limburger Koerier*).

Dit werk is een unicum.
(*Prof. Dr. N. Greitemann, Groot Seminarie Warmond*).

Een standaard-werk van wereldbeteekenis.
(*Nieuwsblad van het Noorden, Groningen*).

Een Bijbelillustratie, die merkwaardig nieuw licht werpt op Bijbelteksten en op het land waarop zij betrekking hebben.
(*De Telegraaf*).

Dat zijn geen foto's meer, dat zijn gedichten en schilderijen. Het is of de meest onbeteekenende zinsneden uit de Heilige Schrift naast deze beelden uit het leven van het Oosten, een heel andere beteekenis krijgen. (*Gazet van Antwerpen*).

Dit Nederlandsche werk is van wereldbeteekenis.
(*Het Boek in Vlaanderen*).

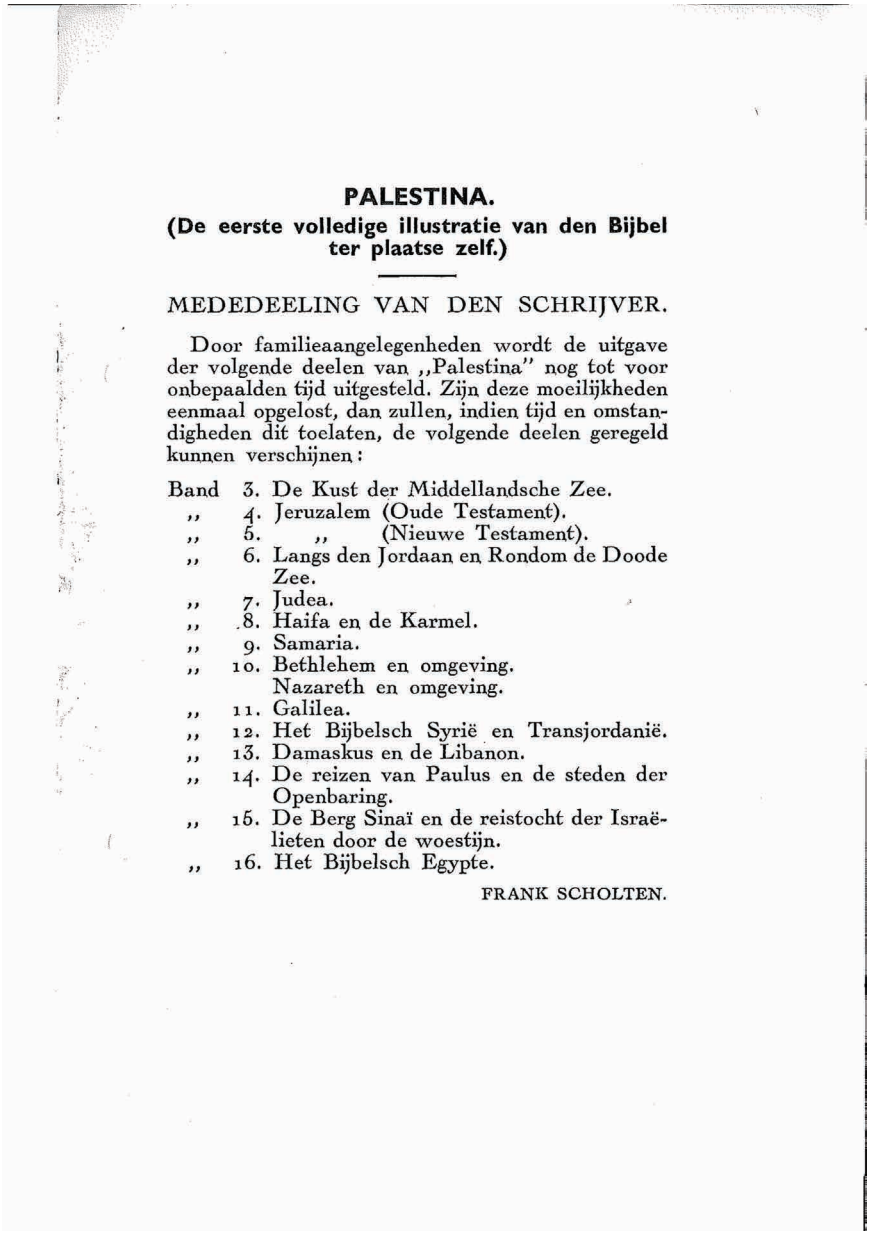
Zoodanig werk is nog nimmer verschenen. De H. Schrift krijgt hierin zin voor zin, woord voor woord, vorm en gestalte. Dit werk is een Palestina-epos, boeiend van begin tot eind.
(*Katholieke Parochie-klokken*).

Nederlandsch boekwerk? Inderdaad; van huis uit Nederlandsch van conceptie en opbouw groeide het boek reeds eerder tot het eenig en unieke levenswerk van een Nederlander.
10.000 foto's, die eene al belangwekkender dan de andere, wachten den dag waarop hun weelde een festijn voor alle oogen zal zijn.

EN MET STIJGENDE BEKOMMERING ZIET DE BIJBELWETENSCHAP OM NAAR HET UITBLIJVEN VAN VERDERE DEELEN.

Het is ten slotte toch niet anders denkbaar, dan dat de uitgave van een werk dat in alle landen van de wereld onder de meest vooraanstaande mannen zijn bewonderaars met honderden telt, dan dat die uitgave er komen moet? (*Utrechtsche Dagblad.*)

Figure 1.6a Announcement of the postponement of the other 14 volumes of *Palestine Illustrated* (Undated, early 1930s).



PALESTINA.

(De eerste volledige illustratie van den Bijbel ter plaatse zelf.)

MEDEDEELING VAN DEN SCHRIJVER.

Door familieaangelegenheden wordt de uitgave der volgende deelen van „Palestina" nog tot voor onbepaalden tijd uitgesteld. Zijn deze moeilijkheden eenmaal opgelost, dan zullen, indien tijd en omstandigheden dit toelaten, de volgende deelen geregeld kunnen verschijnen:

Band 3. De Kust der Middellandsche Zee.
„ 4. Jeruzalem (Oude Testament).
„ 5. „ (Nieuwe Testament).
„ 6. Langs den Jordaan en Rondom de Doode Zee.
„ 7. Judea.
„ 8. Haifa en de Karmel.
„ 9. Samaria.
„ 10. Bethlehem en omgeving. Nazareth en omgeving.
„ 11. Galilea.
„ 12. Het Bijbelsch Syrië en Transjordanië.
„ 13. Damaskus en de Libanon.
„ 14. De reizen van Paulus en de steden der Openbaring.
„ 15. De Berg Sinaï en de reistocht der Israëlieten door de woestijn.
„ 16. Het Bijbelsch Egypte.

FRANK SCHOLTEN.

Figure 1.6b Announcement of the postponement of the other 14 volumes of *Palestine Illustrated* (Undated, early 1930s).

his legal issues. Aside from taking his camera and equipment, Scholten had a library of 6,000 books and other personal effects that he left behind in Palestine with the intent of shipping them back to Europe. After a miscommunication with his agent, his books and personal effects were accidentally sold by a customs official rather than forwarded on to him in Europe. In postcards to Geertje dated 9 and 11 February 1928, Scholten mentions having collected these effects over a twenty-year period.[56] Having left Palestine only five years earlier in 1923, it would seem they had been collected in the fifteen years before he left Europe. To travel with such a large library indicates that despite the legal circumstances surrounding his journey, Scholten had left the Netherlands with the intent of producing his illustrated Bible.

The legal context in which Scholten fled the Netherlands in 1920 had been building over the course of a decade. The first legal case in which he was implicated took place in 1910. It was the prosecution of a men's brothel keeper Adrianus Kakebeen (1851–1941), who ran a number of establishments including one at Saenredamstraat 12 in Amsterdam's working-class area, De Pijp.[57]

The court records against Kakebeen detail allegations of prostitution and pimping, but also the blackmail of clientele. Scholten, who had returned to Berlin for his studies in the autumn of 1910, was implicated in the case, as he kept a private room in Kakebeen's Saenredaamstraat premises where he would meet with male sex workers or men he had picked up.[58] While Scholten was not charged in Kakebeen's 1910 case, his father's house at Amstel 222 was nonetheless raided by the Dutch police in the search for Frank while he was staying at Magnus Hirschfeld's WHK address in Berlin. A seven-page handwritten letter by Scholten to the Dutch Police Commissioner on 24 September 1910 is a fascinating insight into the context of early gay emancipationist movements in Europe, comparing the queer context in Berlin to that of Amsterdam. Scholten argued:

> The Dutch legislature decided at the time, following the Code Napoleon, to grant homosexuals a certain freedom, a greater freedom than in Germany, where they are nevertheless very tolerant, including the continued existence of a number of homosexual premises under the eyes of the police, for example in Berlin (which also provide the police with a practical overview).

He continued, writing that while such establishments in Amsterdam were legal under Dutch law, police surveillance of them took place and little was done by the Dutch police about the blackmail of homosexuals by 'vampires':

> That freedom is therefore not given its due in Holland, because those of the third gender[59] are more disadvantaged there than in other countries, so that many,

> for example in Amsterdam, cannot continue to live there, leave the country, are even driven to suicide from provocation/anguish, as has recently become apparent … [T]he many blackmailers in Holland, which seem to be dealt with little severity, because their number keeps increasing and there is little or no prosecution. In Berlin, on the other hand, the number of blackmailers has been decreasing in recent years, thanks to the exceptionally strict action of the police against the vampires (a short time ago one was sentenced to 9 months in prison for extorting 50 pfennigs on the street).[60]

Aside from providing a character statement to Kakebeen – albeit one with qualifications – Scholten also addressed at length the Dutch legal context and police responsibilities to uphold the law on behalf of homosexuals. Other issues that the letter addressed are various terms for queerness including homosexual, third sex, pederants and sodomite (expanding on its biblical and theological context) as well as examples of famed queer icons including Shakespeare, Oscar Wilde, Prince Eugene of Savoy and Fredrick the Great. Scholten finished the letter with the following lines:

> The main thing is: Why are homosexuals being attacked, as long as they do not cause scandal in public by their sexual acts? When they are attacked, they defend themselves with tooth and nail, because silence is consent.[61]

The broader court records and files of the 1910 case give us some insight into Scholten's personal life. The testimony of Gerardus Hendricus Backhoff, twenty-two at the time of the trial, talks about having seen Scholten travelling by train in a third class compartment to meet military men. Scholten eventually met Backhoff when he was on military leave in June or July 1908 at a urinal in Amsterdam's Rembrandtplein, despite both having clearly socialized in a similar milieu. Scholten offered Backhoff two and a half guilders to go with him to Saenredaamstraat, where Backhoff 'performed masturbation' on Scholten. Backhoff continued to visit Kakebeen's establishment while on military leave for money several times after that, though not with Scholten.[62] Similar testimony was given by Gerrit Hendrik Bakker, eighteen at the time of meeting Scholten through a mutual friend only mentioned in the records as Flipsen.[63]

The impacts of the police investigation were not just on Kakebeen and the clients who were accused but had broader implications for the sex workers. One worker, E. Th. Goddefroy, wrote to the police asking them not to visit him at his new place of work before 7 p.m., lest his new employer find out about the case against Kakebeen and not trust him in his work.[64] Likewise, A. M. van Rooij, a co-defendant in the 1921 trial against Kakebeen, describes being blackmailed by two

sex workers who, after asking for 150 guilders which was given, came back for more money. Van Rooij heartbreakingly wrote 'I have been homosexual since my youth and that tendency has become increasingly stronger. I fight it as much as possible.'[65] On the one hand, it is very clear that there is a distinctly uneven power dynamic between clients – who had at least some wealth – and sex workers who were often in their late teens or early twenties. On the other, it is clear that at least some sex workers found agency in using blackmail to their own financial benefit.

In 1911, amidst the backdrop of legal reforms, the Morality Act was introduced in the Netherlands. Amongst the newly introduced laws was article 248bis, which raised the age of consent for homosexuals from sixteen to twenty-one. A year later in 1912, the early gay rights campaigner Jacob Schorer founded the Dutch chapter of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee (NWHK). 248bis was created with the specific intention of preventing the 'spread' of homosexuality amongst youth.[66]

New charges were brought against Kakebeen, Scholten and others in 1920. The charges followed a similar pattern of morality questions of the day. Scholten was tried and convicted in absentia in 1921 of committing indecent acts. The context was exemplified by the testimony of Dirk Oostindie against Salomon Lam (1886–1942) which mentions Scholten. Oostindie described frequenting Kakebeen's house over a four-year period from 1916 to 1920, aged eighteen to twenty-two. After telling the police what he had done, repentant, ostensibly wanting to 'fight this evil' and requesting discretion regarding his current employment, Oostindie's testimony describes his interactions with Scholten:

> During the first six months of my visits to Kakebeen's house I regularly committed indecent acts there once a week (sometimes twice a week) in the front room with the aforementioned Scholten. He wanted me to come to him while I was dressed as a work boy with Manchester pants; I was not allowed to be dressed neatly: he liked work boys best. I always received money from Scholten for the indecent acts I committed; I do not know whether Kakebeen received money for providing the opportunity. When Scholten noticed that he no longer had me alone, I committed indecent acts with him less often; Scholten was colossally jealous. I believe that he committed indecent acts with all the boys who came to Kakebeen. The indecent acts between him and me consisted of mutually "jerking off" each other, i.e. massaging the manhood with the hands until ejaculation takes place.[67]

Oostindie's tone demonstrates his compliance with the prosecution of the police case and the context of moral policing, though it is unclear whether this was due to feeling exploited as a sex worker or merely attempting to avoid charges himself.

The testimony about wearing his work clothes to meet Scholten, rather than neat clothing, has resonances with the material from evidence in the earlier trial about military men. Both point to a proclivity for 'rough trade'. It also reflects the masculinity in Scholten's description and defence of homosexuals in his letter to the Police Commissioner from the WHK where he describes the: 'young men with Herculean figures, whom I have received upstairs in the room that I have rented continuously. Should these strong people be protected like young men against assault?'[68]

One of Scholten's early photos of Amsterdam gives us a brief glimpse of queer culture. The photograph is in Scholten's Amsterdam Album and is titled '*Zweedsche matrozen*' [Swedish Sailors] (Figure 1.7). The photo shows a group of sailors in front of Amsterdam Central station talking in a group. Two well-to-do gentlemen are walking past them wearing suits and boater hats, surveying the scene. Two of the sailors look away from the station directly to Scholten's

Figure 1.7 *Zweedsche matrozen* [Swedish Sailors – Amsterdam Centraal] (*c.* 1918).
Amsterdam Album: 10

Figures 1.8a and 1.8b *In Artis* [In Amsterdam Zoo].

De witte pauw [The White Peacock], *Slecht humeur* [Bad mood] and *Toilette maken* [Getting ready/dressed]. Amsterdam Album: 08

camera both aware that the photo is in the process of being taken, and actively posing for it. The scene appears to capture a flirtatious moment that at least some of the sailors are cognizant of. It certainly gives us some visual evidence of the queer dynamics at *Amsterdam Centraal* [Amsterdam Central Station] that were referenced in the court records. Poignantly, some of the other photos in the same album include photos of lions, elephants, bears and other animals who are caged in *Artis*, Amsterdam's Zoo (Figures 1.8a and 1.8b), seemingly an allegory, given the letter that Scholten wrote from Hirschfeld's WHK.

The legal context certainly saw shifting alliances, as Kakebeen testified against Scholten when he was tried later in 1921. Kakebeen confirmed Scholten's homosexuality and that Scholten had paid him money. He also mentions that he had known Scholten since he was 15 years old.[69] Likewise, an anonymous tip off

in the dossier against Kakebeen mentions Scholten and other co-defendants and talks of one Th. Lam who 'commits indecent acts in his room with youngsters of about 20 years of age', but also discusses the goings-on in various public urinals and men meeting at the Kras Napolsky Café (Figure 1.9). The anonymous tip off in the dossier finishes with: 'By providing you with this information, I hope you will make it your business to eradicate these brothels soon', demonstrating the context of moral panic around homosexuality and prostitution.[70]

Frank Scholten was charged with two counts of committing indecent acts with minors of the same sex. One with Pieter Spaan, born 17 May 1898, from 1917 to 1919 when the defendant was aged nineteen to twenty-one, and the other with three boys in 1920 (one born 1900 and the other two in 1902).[71] The latter charges were dropped due to insufficient evidence, but for the former, Scholten was tried in absentia on 4 November 1921 and sentenced to two years in prison, a term he would never serve. Scholten was aged thirty-six to thirty-eight at the time of his interactions with Spaan. Spaan testified that he committed indecent acts with Scholten on multiple occasions in 1917, 1918 and 1919, usually at the

Figure 1.9 *Interior Krasnapolsky, Warmoesstraat 175–185, S. Heart.*
OSIM000080001661. Image courtesy of Gemeente Amsterdam Stadsarchief [Amsterdam City Archives]

house of Kakebeen, Groote Bickerstraat 13 in Amsterdam.[72] The charges were eventually quashed in 1932 in a *verzet* [resistance] trial in the Hague in March 1932, with an acquittal ruling made by the magistrate.[73]

There is clearly a differential of power both in terms of age and class between Scholten and the younger men with whom he engaged in sex in the Netherlands. However, there is also a broader context of moral panic about homosexuality in Dutch society and a heightened police surveillance, the response to which was the formation of early northern European gay emancipationist movements. The context of sex workers blackmailing homosexuals also demonstrates at least some agency and entrepreneurship within these asymmetrical power relations.

The first postcard to Geertje that Scholten sent from Rome is dated 21 October 1920, a year before the trial, but just days before an arrest warrant for Scholten was issued by the Dutch police on 28 October. Scholten's postcards to Geertje continued to arrive from Rome until March 1921, when he travelled via Brindisi to Athens to secure his visa for Palestine and continue via Crete and Port Said to Palestine, writing to her from Jerusalem on 19 April 1921.[74] Attempts by the Dutch police to extradite Scholten from Rome started on 11 November 1920 and continued to February 1921,[75] which may have led him to speed up his planning around his project of illustrating the Bible to escape prosecution.

Scholten's time in Rome certainly demonstrates his devout Catholicism. He mentions Lent, where 'We – Englishmen and Dutchmen – as good Catholics, are at war here with those other Catholics in the hotel about fasting; but we succeeded in getting different food; those people here in Italy just simply don't fast.'[76] He mentions meeting with the Archbishop of Utrecht, Cardinal van Rossum and eventually the Pope himself in October 1920.[77] Scholten was clearly well networked within Catholic circles of Rome and built relationships with the clerical hierarchy. It is unclear whether they were aware of Scholten's legal predicament or not.

Impacts on the genesis of Scholten's project

The most important aspect of Scholten's images of Palestine is neither about the man himself nor the diverse society that he encountered, but about a complex and overlapping series of identities and transnational entanglements. Scholten's position as a queer Dutch aristocrat and Catholic convert gives us access, through his particularized viewpoint, to different quarters of Palestinian society.

In the letter that Scholten sent from Hirschfeld's WHK in Berlin, he addresses the ways in which the police had slandered his relationship with his father, saying:

> That my father does not receive my acquaintances (among whom, in addition to people from lower circles, are also those from the highest circles, including art, science, diplomacy, and many officers) on principle is a completely different matter, and one cannot disagree with him from his point of view. Hence my room in the Saenredamstraat.

Considering Kakebeen's testimony that he had known Scholten since he was fifteen, Scholten's associations with Magnus Hirschfeld, the queer Dutch writer

Jacob Israël de Haan, and elite members of Catholic circles including cardinals and the Pope himself, it would seem that Scholten did move in a variety of different circles from the elite upper echelons to the queer underground.

Added to this is his conversion from Protestantism to Catholicism. The context of pillarization – *verzuiling* in Dutch, which translates literally as 'compartmentalization' – is a key concept for understanding the social formations of Dutch society from the late nineteenth century until the 1960s.[78] For Scholten, growing up in the last decades of the nineteenth century, he would have witnessed the establishment and growing influence of Abraham Kuyper's Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP), a neo-Calvinist organization that would eventually see Kuyper as Prime Minister from 1901–5. Kuyper was instrumental in the formalization of pillarization.[79] A conversion from Protestant to Catholic had social implications in a society where pillarization mediated much of historical life. While it is important to stress that scholarly agreement is divided on the totality of pillarization in compartmentalizing Dutch communities and how intensely its effects were felt and experienced, the system certainly mediated aspects of historical social life from the consumption of media like newspapers and magazines, to social and leisure associations, education including universities, welfare and philanthropic endeavours and even unions and other professional associations.[80]

In the context of Scholten's broad social circles (queer or otherwise), his conversion to Catholicism and its implications for his self-perception of belonging within the social world. In his exposure to Hirschfeld's methodologies of taxonomizing identity, we also see a confluence of thinking about social organization and the social structure.

Scholten's conversion took place before the First World War,[81] putting it around the time or shortly after his studies in Berlin and his associations with Magnus Hirschfeld and the WHK. At the time, Hirschfeld had been working on *Die Transvestiten*,[82] one of the early works on transvestitism that pioneered the taxonomizing of gender and sexuality. Scholten was also a member of the third Hussar Regiment earlier in his life,[83] and would have had contact with military men not only within a social context but also professionally. Added to this is his advocacy for gay rights within the legal predicaments he found himself, which gives a sense of his comparative approach in analysing the differences between Amsterdam and Berlin. Here, a complex image of a complex individual with a diverse intersection of identity categories emerges. This complexity offers a unique series of approaches to Palestinian society that speak to religious circles,

transnational contexts of class, queerness, masculinity and homosocial spaces both at work and leisure. Further, the taxonomies Scholten employs include religious, ethnic and nationalist differentiations that attempt to categorize large sections of Palestinian society.

In considering the Scholten photographic collection as a mediator between an individual photographer and the Palestinian society he imaged, it is a valuable historical source. The collection sheds light on a series of identity categories such as ethnicity, religion, class, gender and sexuality that were mediated through a series of transnational encounters. It gives us valuable understandings of the different currents and groupings in Palestinian society, how they interacted with one another and what they can tell us of Scholten in his attempts to make sense of them.

Scholten's complexity as an individual mirrors the complexity of the post-Ottoman Palestinian society he encountered. The changes that Palestine was undergoing in shifting from Ottoman rule with its millet system had parallels to the pillarized Dutch society in which he had grown up. The advent of British colonial control and the cementing of the British Mandate while he was in Palestine makes for important historical documentation of a society undergoing large shifts, including the advent of the Third Aliyah (wave of Zionist migration, 1919–1923), which would shift the political trajectory of the region, with vast reverberations to the current day.

Certainly, the modern world Scholten captured was a Palestine replete with tourism industries, burgeoning post-war economies and the continuities of the Ottoman modernization project at the beginning of the British Mandate. It reveals a world of Palestinian agency in shaping perceptions of the region (see Chapter 2). Scholten's use of biblical references and photographic imagery gives us insights into the ways in which he viewed the world, but also the interactions between text and image in understanding Palestinian society (see Chapter 3). Likewise, the ways in which he *reads* different communal spheres of Palestinian society give us insights into the ways he understands social divisions (see Chapter 4). His queerness and its implications for photographing men demonstrates the ways in which masculinity and men's bodies related to nationalism in a period in which diverging views of the future of Palestine competed to frame nationalist endeavours (see Chapter 5).

Ultimately, this book attempts to proffer a methodology for understanding photography as a site of mediation between the eccentric vision of Scholten and the diverse society that he portrayed.

2

On reading the 'Holy Land'

This chapter considers the ways in which the 'Holy Land' was produced, visualized and mobilized in Palestine and by Palestinians as part of a modern cultural phenomenon focused on the ancient religious past. While Scholten and his camera actively sought to engage with Christianity and the religious heritage of Palestine, the images he took give us insights into the ways in which the modern *culture of religion* operated within a series of transnational dialogues mediated by pilgrims, tourism and different church denominations, as well as secular industries such as souvenir vendors and producers and even the early days of film. It advances the idea of *biblical mirroring*, a term to describe the ways in which cultural products mirrored the expectations of cultural consumers, effectively undergirding the image of the 'Holy Land' through dynamic relations often linked to transnational perceptions of the 'Holy Land'.

The first of the four sections of this chapter introduces a historical background for understanding the field of photography and its religious implications in Palestine, before focusing on three case studies drawn from the Scholten collection. Each of the case studies analyses the impacts of the culture of religion when Scholten was in Palestine from 1921–1923 and how both local and expatriate populations produced a diversity of – sometimes contradictory – images of the 'Holy Land'. The second section considers the boom in religious building that began in the late Ottoman period. It considers how pilgrimage and the competition for holy sites between different denominations architecturally reshaped cities like Jerusalem. It also considers how new modern entertainments, such as cinema, supported the religious reimagining of Palestine. The third section considers the impacts of British heritage frameworks on the city, its development and its impacts on the ways in which communalism was felt by local inhabitants. Scholten's time in Palestine coincided with activities of the Pro-Jerusalem Society which had a decisive impact on the city's urban planning, making it valuable for understanding the heritage of Ottoman Jerusalem before

modern British frameworks of heritage reshaped it. The last section deals with tourism and the interpretation of holy sites to pilgrims, looking at the apparatus of interpreting the 'Holy Land' to visitors.

Despite Scholten's religiosity – and his attention to more typical religious scenes – Scholten's camera captured much of the modern transformations, the infrastructure that scaffolded it and how it catered to different social demographics and their visions of Palestine as the 'Holy Land'.

The modern 'Holy Land'

The first photograph was taken in Palestine in 1839, the same year the new process was invented, as a visual record for producing a lithographic print.[1] This made Palestine one of the first places in the world to be photographed, and immediately involved in transnational networks of photographic image circulation. This privileging of the 'Holy Land' in the photography of Palestine denotes the early European fascinations with biblical history through photography. With the invention of the photographic medium, Western photographers would flock to the region to photograph the 'Holy Land'.[2]

One of the earliest photographers to thoroughly document Jerusalem was the Frenchman Auguste Salzmann (1824–1872), who travelled with the intention of proving the archaeological theories of Felice Caignart de Saulcy (1807–1880), a French archaeologist. De Saulcy hypothesized that the remains of Jerusalem dated from the time of Solomon and David (tenth century BCE) rather than the Roman period, a thesis that was later debunked.[3] Actively photographing in Palestine through the early 1850s, Salzmann produced the first lavishly illustrated photo book, published in 1856 and released in multiple editions and volumes as *Jérusalem: Étude et Reproduction Photographique des Monuments de la Ville Sainte Depuis l'Époque Judaïque Jusqu'à. Nos Jours* [Jerusalem: Study and Photographic Reproduction of the Monuments of the Holy City From the Judaic Period Until the Present].[4]

As early as the 1850s, criticisms had been made by Western travellers of the commercialization of Jerusalem. Indeed, de Saulcy even went so far as to comment on the modern tourist trappings of Jerusalem, intimating that the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley were a more authentic representation of the 'Holy Land' than the Holy City with its European influences and modern Christian rivalries for holy sites.[5] His comments privileged romantic notions of the landscape over the realities of a country undergoing a process of modernization.

De Saulcy garnered much attention at the time for his discovery of the supposed site of Sodom in the Jordan Valley, but like his purported discovery of Solomon era tombs in Jerusalem, this was also debunked, despite its significant popular impact at the time.[6]

The employment of the new medium of photography as 'evidence' in the scientific research of monuments by photographers like Salzmann entwined the notional veracity of photography with appetites for images of the 'Holy Land' and ideologies rooted in evidencing religious narrative. The new-ness of the medium of photography had implications from both a technological and a scholarly perspective. On the one hand, slow exposure times made people difficult to photograph, effectively limiting photography to monuments and the landscape over the people who inhabited it.[7] On the other hand, such early images of empty landscapes had an effect on how such photos were consumed by audiences in European metropoles who had not visited Palestine.[8]

Salzmann was followed by many other European photographers, including those who were itinerant and others who had longer standing relations or had moved permanently to the region. Eventually this would include Scholten himself, some seventy years after Salzmann. Indeed, within the Scholten collection, there are several photographs taken by Salzmann among his collected materials.[9]

Photography became a commercially lucrative industry in Palestine for local studio photographers as well.[10] Much of this commercial photography was aimed at the market for export, whether sold as souvenirs from Palestine itself, produced and sold through books on the 'Holy Land' or on commission for magazines and periodicals or through various research institutes. The breadth of the photographic industry for popular consumption of the 'Holy Land' is exemplified by postcards often produced by commercial photographers, for instance those in the Pearlman Collection.[11] The photographs produced for the popular market as well as those produced for scholarly research at this time both exhibit the fascination with the putative ancient biblical past. This fascination with the biblical histories, religious sites and notions of the 'Holy Land' speak as much to photographers' commercial interests as to the tastes of the different public consumer markets in Palestine and abroad.

The conflation of biblical visuality and photography in Palestine has been underlined repeatedly in scholarship. Issam Nassar has outlined the context of *biblification*, the selective highlighting of religious narratives tracing the ancient 'Holy Land' in the photography of Palestine, while removing the modern social life of the region from the photographic frame. He outlines images that typify biblical occupations such as fishermen in the Galilee (Figure 2.1) and shepherds,

Figure 2.1 *Galilee Fishermen*

Transparency with hand colouring, American Colony Photo Department, LC-M343- 47012-x. Image courtesy of the Matson Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Drawings Division

as well as the acts of sowing or reaping crops.[12] Such images re-periodized Palestine within the ancient biblical past. This has a confluence with Said's notion of an ancient and 'immoveable east' within the paradigm of Orientalism.[13] Likewise, Rona Sela discusses the ways in which perceptions of ancient times were a formative mode of exclusion.[14] This is supported by Nadia Abu El-Haj's documentation of the role of archaeology in reshaping the cultural politics of Zionist nationalism more broadly.[15]

This underscores several questions that are pertinent to understanding the densely populated photographic field into which Scholten entered. Firstly, the question of how biblical narratives, even within scholarly modes of photography, are privileged by individuals or groups associated with archaeology in Palestine.[16] Secondly, the question of how the legitimacy of such scholarly photography impacted the ways in which commercial photographers produced work for the export market. Thirdly, the question of the role of cultural consumers in shaping the visuality of the region and the photographers' lens within networks of commercial photography.[17] This makes Scholten's oeuvre and his focus on modernity somewhat unique amongst expatriate photographers.

From the context of an earlier photographic market addressing pilgrims and 'armchair' tourists at home in the West,[18] local photographic studios emerged in Palestine from the late nineteenth century onwards.[19]

This can be seen in photographers like Khalil Raad, whose studio on the Jaffa Road in Jerusalem (Figure 2.2) produced images for the souvenir market, local events and archaeological digs as much as studio portraits for local clientele. Images such as Raad's 'Ruth the Gleaner'[20] demonstrate a nationalist response from an Arab photographer addressing a market for the biblical content. The image might be read as a nationalist response showing a *Fellaha* (fellāḥa, feminine of villager or 'peasant') with relative agency looking directly at the camera as she performs her work, rather than a more typically demure observational style of photo portraiture in which *Fellahin* (fellāḥīn, plural) were depicted or modelled in studios.

As much as scholars have criticized the biblical lens, it is also apparent that Arab and Palestinian photographers promoted the religious sites of the 'Holy Land' to an increasing array of pilgrims and secular tourists through a vast tourism market. Through the late Ottoman and British Mandate period this helped shape cultural consumers' perceptions of the enduring continuity of the 'Holy Land'.[21]

While Scholten clearly spent time with different Palestinian communities (Arab, Jewish and otherwise), his documentary approach to photography

Figure 2.2 *La rue du Jaffa* [Jaffa Road in Jerusalem with view of Khalil Raad's studio].

Jerusalem 8 Album: 24

came at a time when the medium was becoming ever more mobile, portable and affordable,[22] giving us rare glimpses of street life, albeit couched within the baggage of his religious perceptions. Despite Scholten's publications, his work was clearly not commercial in nature, but neither does it fit neatly into a typical mode of scholarly imaging, despite its documentary nature.

The Palestine in which Scholten arrived in 1921 was well aware of the commercially lucrative nature of its religious significance. Indeed, the final decades of Ottoman rule in the region oversaw a dramatic transformation of a new tourism economy. Visitors included both pilgrims, who focused on religious sites, and tourists of a more secular variety. In the Christian context, Catholic and Orthodox pilgrims made up much of the former, coming from Russia, Greece, Armenia, Egypt, the Catholic areas of Europe and North America.[23]

Reflecting de Saulcy's criticisms of Jerusalem's tourist trappings several decades later, Lars Lind of the American Colony recalled in his memoirs the throng of Russian pilgrims that visited Jerusalem in the years before the First World War, saying that: 'The Russian Compound was a walled-in zone equal to several city blocks stretching from the Jaffa Road to St. Paul's Road and as much a part of

Russia as the Kremlin' (Figure 2.3).[24] The presence of these pilgrims exemplifies the transnational communal relations of different Orthodox Christian groups, albeit from the Protestant perspective of the American Colony in Jerusalem. Although one individual's perspective, Lind's views should be situated vis-à-vis the American Colony's own well-known souvenir and antiquities store, Vester & Co at Jaffa Gate. From that corner of Jerusalem, the American Colony competed with its neighbour, the Arab Catholic-owned Boulos Meo Souvenir and Antiquities Store. Lind narrated:

> Passing through the Jaffa Gate, the [Russian] pilgrim had a short relief from pestering street vendors for here [Jaffa Gate] were the tourist stores including that of the Colony, which took no notice whatsoever of this type of customer. But emerging on Christian [Quarter] Street and after passing the Jewish haberdashers, the attack recommenced. Here were the larger stores in which the pilgrim could get all those pious articles which a worshipper at the Holy Sepulchre might wish to take in with him … Most of the storekeepers were Greek Orthodox Arabs and their particular community gained more from the Russian pilgrims than they did from the tourist before the Bolshevik revolution.[25]

Figure 2.3 *Eglise russe* [The Russian Church – Trinity Cathedral in the Russian Compound].

Jerusalem 5 Album: 24

By the late nineteenth century, Russian Orthodox pilgrims had become one of the most significant tourist demographics visiting Palestine, especially with the growth of Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society's (IOPS) activities.[26] Scholten's photos attest to both de Saulcy's criticisms of the growing tourism industry in cities like Jerusalem, but also Lind's commentary on the religious wares that pilgrims and visitors encountered.

The last sentence of Lind's commentary also hints at the importance of transnational religious networks and cultural affinities in shaping the tourism economy of Palestine at the time. Indeed, Figure 2.4 precisely visualizes the pious articles sold in St Helena Street, which connects the Christian Quarter Road in Jerusalem's Old City to the courtyard entrance of the Holy Sepulchre. An array of candles are displayed in the two shops that are visible. Inside the first shop is also a set of scales for weighing frankincense. The vendor is well-to-do, wearing a three-piece suit and a tarboosh typical of city attire. His neighbour, standing in the mid-ground wears a more traditional *qumbāz*, and behind him, another vendor is seated wearing a suit outside his shop in the far distance of the photo, at the corner of Christian Quarter Road. Their clothing hints that as much as

Figure 2.4 *Untitled* [Vendors selling candles and other religious goods outside the Holy Sepulchre in the Old City of Jerusalem].

Digitized negative, Jerusalem chretiens 02: 85

Jerusalemites and people of larger cities were involved in mercantile activities, so too were people from the urban peripheries and smaller nearby cities and towns.

Economics played a role for holy sites. An example here is the Garden Tomb, established by the growing Protestant pilgrim presence in 1894 when the land on which it stood was purchased for religious development through crowd-funding donations, especially with the involvement of well-to-do British women.[27]

Similarly, in an interview with the great-grandson of Boulos Meo, the souvenir and antiquities store that competed with Vester and Co., Rami Meo described going on buying trips to the UK to purchase orientalist and biblical prints by the likes of David Roberts and others to sell in the shop in the 1970s and 1980s.[28] The successful trade was built on the traditions of his forefathers, but he was well aware of the market dictates for souvenirs and antiquities and also how to address consumers. The anecdote is humorous on the one hand in the importation of images only for tourists to purchase them (and to potentially even repatriate them to Europe), but on the other, demonstrates the ways in which Palestinian merchants and vendors held agency in shaping and meeting the needs of the tourism sector and its consumers.

From tours and tour guides to the proliferation of hotels and pilgrims' hospices, to souvenir production and shops, Palestine and its diverse inhabitants mobilized its status as the 'Holy Land' to create economic opportunities with a flourishing new industry. This mirroring of the biblical expectations of cultural consumers creates a relational framework that centres the market economy as the site from which the 'Holy Land' was produced. The active participation of cultural producers, cultural consumers and the vendors who brokered such exchanges formed a matrix that blurred the categories between them and fed into the production of this *culture of religion*.

'Rebuilding' Jerusalem

The late Ottoman period oversaw the creation of pilgrims' hospices to facilitate pilgrimage to the 'Holy Land'. In Jerusalem this included the Austrian Hospice (1863), Notre Dame du France (1888) and the Russian Compound (1860–1903). This Christian pilgrimage infrastructure expanded the offerings of the many *zāwiyyāt* and the Muslim pilgrimage infrastructure that had existed in the city for centuries.[29] Added to this were new church building and restoration projects including restorations of the Holy Sepulchre and the construction of new churches such as Christchurch (1849), the Holy Trinity Cathedral (1872), the Church of

Mary Magdalene (1888), and the Church of All Nations (1924), among many others. The rapid growth of such infrastructure to facilitate pilgrimage that Scholten photographed brought both people and capital to places like Jerusalem. It also contributed to the city's modern re-envisioning as a religious centre, and in mirroring the expectations of pilgrims, its emerging culture of religion.

In Figure 2.5, we see an image of Yacoub Boukhari, the head of the Sufi Naqshbandi sect who ran a *zāwiyya* in Jerusalem. His portrait is taken by Scholten with a visiting Sheikh from Tripoli. The image hints at the central role of *zāwiyyāt* in supporting transnational Muslim pilgrimage.[30] Alongside this, the British also restored a number of Muslim holy sites, principally the Dome of the Rock,[31] which was a dominant feature of the Jerusalem skyline.

The complex matrix of religious imagery of Palestine, the growth of modern tourism and the new infrastructure that supported this culture of religion had significant economic implications for the restoration of church property and holy sites (see Figure 2.6 and Figures 2.7a and 2.7b). For instance, Russian activity in Palestine, both in terms of facilitating pilgrimage and restoration of church properties, often worked with Arab Orthodox communities. For example, the Halaby family was involved in securing properties for the IOPS to build new

Figure 2.5 *Sheikh du Tripoli* [Sheikh of Tripoli – Yacoub Boukhari and a sheikh from Tripoli at the Naqshbandi Zāwiyya].

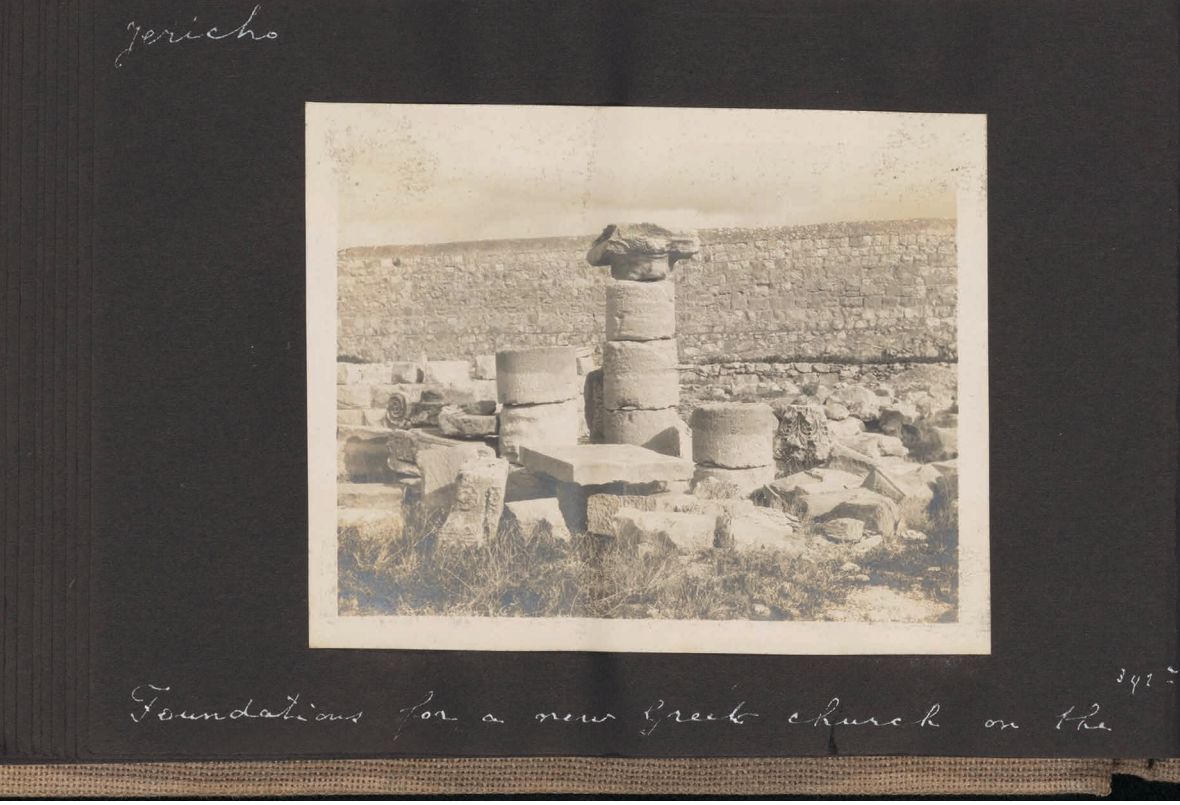
Jerusalem 7 Album: 20

Figure 2.6 *Cariathiarum*.
Sanctuaires 3 Album: 57

churches[32] and one 'master Zananiri' appears to have overseen the restoration of various church buildings in the nineteenth century.[33]

While legibly modernist architecture was built in Palestine,[34] so too was an equally eclectic modern religious architecture that imported nationalist styles from elsewhere. These styles evoke other denominations' visions of the 'Holy Land', mirroring their expectations as cultural consumers, ranging from the spare Anglican Gothic of Christ Church near Jaffa Gate, to the golden onion domes of the Russian Mary Magdalene Church on the Mount of Olives (Figure 2.8), to Antonio Barluzzi's Italo-Byzantine Revival Church of All Nations next to the Garden of Gethsemane (Figures 2.11a and 2.11b) and of course the Protestant establishment of the Garden Tomb (Figures 2.10a and 2.10b). Such Christian building projects also sat alongside the Dome of the Rock and its long history of restorations both in the late Ottoman and British Mandate eras.[35] This was also complemented by the luxurious new hotel built by the Islamic Waqf to compete in the burgeoning tourism market of the British Mandate era.[36]

Scholten's *Sanctuaires I–VI* [Sanctuaries] Albums in the collection show a wealth of religious sites, but also the ways in which such sites had been redeveloped or were in the process of development by the onset of the British Mandate. The images show the 'Holy Land' not as a static relic of the past, but as a world whose architectural fabric was changing rapidly with this developing culture of religion.



Figures 2.7a and 2.7b *Foundations for a new Greek church on the top of the Mount of Temptation.*

Sanctuaires Album 5: 15

The formal Russian presence in Palestine had begun in the 1840s with the arrival of archimandrite Porphyrii Uspenksii in 1847, who was commissioned by the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to create intercommunion between the Russian church and Arab Orthodox communities in the Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem, to monitor the use of money donated there by Russians, inspect the Russian pilgrims and to oversee the distribution of icons and set up an icon school.[37] While the roots of the IOPS can be found in the early missions of Uspenksii to the 'Holy Land' to combat Catholic and Protestant proselytization,[38] the IOPS only formally began its activities in 1882.[39] Its remit was three-fold. Firstly, facilitating Russian pilgrimage to the 'Holy Land'; secondly, sponsoring Russian orientalist scholarship on Palestine; and thirdly, programs of cultural diplomacy that included restoration of church property, welfare of Arab Orthodox communities, and establishment of a Russian education system.

The Russian Compound was built outside the Old City's walls close to both Jaffa Gate and the New Gate. It contained hostels for the pilgrims described by Lind, but also the new Holy Trinity Cathedral (Figure 2.3), built 1860–1872. The Russian Compound was just one of many properties that were purchased by the IOPS in Palestine during the nineteenth century, including the construction

of hospices in Jerusalem, Hebron, Haifa, Nazareth, Jaffa, Jericho and Ramleh. Like other Christian groups, it purchased properties in areas of historical or archaeological significance.[40]

The development of the Garden Tomb was another such venture in the development of modern religious infrastructure. In 1867, a rock cut tomb had been discovered in Sheikh Jarrah, just outside the Damascus Gate and next door to what would become St Stephens (Figure 2.9), the Dominican Monastery in which École Biblique was established on Nablus Road. In January 1883 the British General Charles Gordon (1833–1885), a Protestant who was colloquially known as Gordon Pasha or Gordon of Khartoum, visited Palestine on pilgrimage. In correspondence with the architect Conrad Schick, it was suggested that the site of Golgotha was not where the Holy Sepulchre was built, but where the rock cut tomb had been found. Through Gordon, this came to be popularized within British Protestant circles.[41] The Status Quo around holy sites had privileged the Orthodox and Catholic church's administration of them, so the establishment of the Garden Tomb had particular implications for creating a new pilgrimage site for Anglicans and Protestants more generally.

In February 1894, the Garden Tomb Association concluded the purchase of the land on which the tomb was sited. The purchase was made through donations by ninety-nine subscribers, of whom fifty-two were women. Tracing donor names, notable Anglican women were a driving force behind securing

Figure 2.8 *Untitled* [Russian Church of Mary Magdalene, Mount of Olives].
Digitized negative, Jerusalem chretiens 2: 64

Figure 2.9 *Dominican monastery*.
Jerusalem 2 Album: 50

the property. This had occurred through a popularization of the site that was undertaken by the Association as part of the effort to secure its purchase.[42] Unlike other developments in Catholic and Orthodox contexts, the British state was not involved in the purchase, instead it occurred through private channels of interested parties in a nineteenth-century mode of crowd funding.

In the double-page spread of Scholten's Album *Sanctuaires IV*, he captions the two images as 'The tomb of Christ, according to Gordon' and 'Entrance to the tomb of Christ, according to Gordon' (Figures 2.10a and 2.10b). The fact that Scholten is at pains to note 'according to Gordon' in both images, denotes a subtle de-legitimation of a Protestant cartography of Jerusalem's holy sites. What is even more intriguing, given the establishment of the Garden Tomb in 1893, is that photographing it some thirty years later, there is little evidence of the garden that is now fundamental to the site in either image. Unlike some of Scholten's use of sarcastic and critical humour through biblical quotations in other aspects of his photography of Palestine (see Chapter 3), his brief documentation of the Garden Tomb only uses quotations that relate directly to the entombment of Jesus. Despite his caveat 'according to Gordon', he does not jest about the death and resurrection of Christ, as he does with other captions.

The time that Scholten had spent in Palestine was at the crest of the developments of holy sites. Already much newer architecture either in the form of churches, monasteries or hospices had come into being, while other such sites were in the process of redevelopment, restoration or establishment from scratch.

The Church of All Nations built beside the Garden of Gethsemane was designed by the Italian architect Antonio Barluzzi on behalf of the Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land. The site had both a Byzantine and a Crusader church successively built and destroyed on it over the centuries. The archaeological remains, and the competition and contestation of holy sites between the Catholic and Orthodox churches delayed the building of the new church significantly. Archaeological excavations at the site as early as 1891 unearthed the foundations of the older churches. A 'graceful' Byzantine church had been reported to exist on the site as early as the fourth century CE, though the remains initially uncovered were of the Crusader church which had been destroyed towards the end of the twelfth century. Finding the remains of the two churches complicated locating the specific site of the Agony of Jesus and created internal debate amongst the Franciscans about the importance of the physical site. Development was also further complicated by a relic known as the Pillar of Judas, important to Orthodox Christians, where the betrayal of Jesus by Judas' kiss was said to have taken place.[43] I will return to discussion on this biblical event in Chapter 4.

Figure 2.10a and 2.10b Left: *The tomb of Christ, according to Gordon*, and Right: *Entrance to the tomb of Christ, according to Gordon*.

Sanctuaires 4 Album: 32

The photograph on the left (Figure 2.11a) shows the contentious Pillar of Judas. It has a child pointing directly at the pillar, which had been moved to an accessible place by the Franciscans as an accommodation to Orthodox worshippers. The pillar was moved twice. First in 1919, as Orthodox and Catholics closed ranks against the new British administration, situated close by on an accessible laneway, but it was later moved to the Mount of Olives.[44] Pictured by Scholten, the pillar is still in the first of its new locations in a laneway close to the Russian Mary Magdalene Church. Not only does the young boy point directly towards the pillar, but Scholten has highlighted the relic by marking it with a cross.

The image to the right shows the digging for the foundations of what would become the Church of All Nations. Donations were received from many nation states to build the church, and the mosaic ceilings and apse bear the coat of arms of those nations. The church was consecrated in 1924, the year after Scholten left Palestine. Figure 2.11b shows the early stages of excavation and construction.

The ancient and religious sites of Jerusalem were highlighted through religious monuments – or even encircled by the secular defensive architecture like its

ancient walls – but they were also multiplied and extended through the various new structures often eclectically borrowing and reconfiguring revivals of historical styles connected to nationalist histories of religious architecture elsewhere.

As much as the 'Holy Land' relied on its ancient imaginary to attract visitors, various actors in Palestine, from souvenir vendors and hoteliers to supra-national religious organizations, also invested in and produced modern infrastructure to meet and accommodate the expectations of the biblical gaze of pilgrims and tourists alike. This process of mirroring the expectations of cultural consumers was a lucrative industry, addressing them in a myriad of ways and across a wide range of markets.

The complexity of Scholten, both as a devout Catholic and as a photographer who was actively engaged with the modern life of Palestine, is exemplified in Figure 2.12. In this photograph, advertisements are shown in four languages for the screening of a biblical film. Accompanying what appears to be the entrance of the cinema are a series of photos of 'biblical type-portraits'. Portraits of people, primarily *Fellahin* or *Badu* (see Chapter 4 for extended discussions), form a display that is reminiscent of the work of studios such as the Jewish-run Palphot in Palestine or the European Maison Bonfils in Beirut. The images are almost certainly taken with models dressed up in 'traditional' garb as signifiers. Many

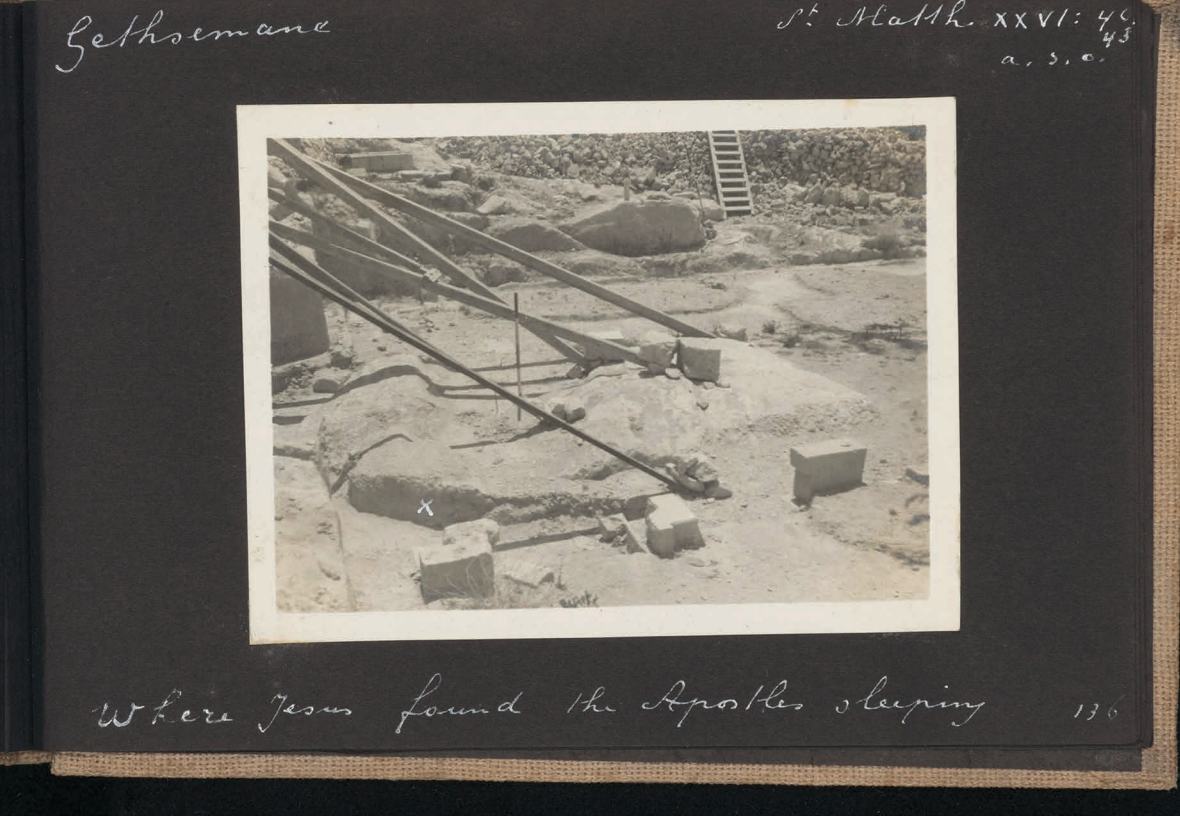
Figures 2.11a and 2.11b Left: *Where Judas betrayed Jesus with a kiss*, and Right: *Where Jesus found the Apostles sleeping*.

Sanctuaires Album 2: 48

of the photos appear to have been shot in photographic studios with painted backgrounds. Borrowing from the legitimacy of anthropological portraits, such photos of biblical archetypes mobilize notionally authentic identities for the viewer.

Scholten's photo presents the complexities of representation in a more nuanced way. Here, he shows the underpinnings of classed difference in the queue of men and boys wearing modern clothing such as pants, shirts and hats who are ready to enter the theatre and consume the film. They are in counterpoint to the modern production of biblical identities embodied by the film and the photographs that are used to market it. Scholten's image pierces the biblical veneer of the 'Holy Land', to capture the economic infrastructure of religion that is in operation – for example, 'biblical type-portraits', as well as modern cinema that speaks to biblical narrative, and the queue of viewers looking directly at Scholten's camera as they enact one of the typical leisure activities of modern life: going to the movies.

An image in *Choses Intéressantes I* Album (Figure 2.13) shows the filming of a movie. In a postcard to Geertje, Scholten wrote 'Today a cinema company



arrived from America, such nasty creeps, as they sometimes are in Volendam too. They have brought a thousand Arabs with camels, the entire recording will cost about 48,000 guilders!'[45] The short postcard and photograph give us another dimension from which to understand the ways in which the biblical gaze shaped perceptions of Palestine, and the significant expenditure of producing such filmic imagery for consumption elsewhere. Certainly, similar dynamics to Figure 2.12 are at play. We see a camera man filming the crowd of anonymous Arabs on horse back, a woman in modern dress behind him and a man, presumably a fixer or dragoman, in his tailored suit topped with an Ottoman tarboosh.

The cleverness of these images is in the ways they distil the relations between so many of the stakeholders – both absent and present – to show a very modern image that is swathed in the perceptions of the ancient 'Holy Land'. It lays bare the complex social milieus of Palestine, the role of the biblical-touristic economy, and presents a cultural phenomenon that is rooted in generating, highlighting and producing a vision of Palestine as part of the ancient 'Holy Land' of the past for cultural consumers. How then, do we understand this process of biblical mirroring? And what can Scholten's modern understanding of Palestine tell us about the ways in which Palestine's cultural heritage was mobilized to this end?

Figure 2.12 *Untitled* [Biblical cinema].

Box 2: 241

Figure 2.13 *La cinéma au désert (Shune)* [Cinema in the desert (Shune)].

Choses Interessantes 1 Album: 14

Heritagization and the modern remaking of the ancient 'Holy Land'

As early as the summer of 1918, just months after the British captured Jerusalem from the Ottomans in December 1917, a town planning scheme was drawn up by William McLean (1877–1967), a British engineer and colonial administrator who was previously stationed in Alexandria, Egypt. The planning scheme proposed to preserve the 'medieval aspect' of the Old City, remove the urban growth from around the Old City's walls, creating a reserve to separate it from the modern city, create another space to the north and east of the city where only buildings with special approval could be built and create yet another space for the modern city to the north and west of the city.[46] Notwithstanding a design of avenues and grid plans that Jerusalem's hilly topography simply could not support, the McLean plan of 1918 would be the basis for subsequent urban plans by Patrick Geddes (1919) and Charles Robert Ashbee (1921), each building on the next. These plans have had a decisive role in shaping the city to this day.

Charles Robert Ashbee (1867–1942) was engaged by Jerusalem's Military Governor Ronald Storrs as the first civic adviser to the Government of Palestine and later as the chairperson of the Pro-Jerusalem Society (PJS).[47] Ashbee was a member of the British Arts and Crafts movement. Among his numerous accomplishments before Palestine, he had established the Guild and School of Handicrafts under the influence of William Morris (1834–1896), the famous British Arts and Crafts practitioner, and credited among his influences the writings of the British art historian John Ruskin (1819–1900).[48] Ashbee chaired the Pro-Jerusalem Society from 1918 until 1922, when he resigned in March of that year, after a drainage system was installed to service Jewish areas of Jerusalem which harmed Arab neighbourhoods, including the area that he lived in.[49] The PJS was eventually dissolved by Storrs.[50] After leaving Palestine, Ashbee would go on to advocate for Arab Palestinian rights.[51]

On 6 September 1918, a group of twelve people met at the residence of Jerusalem Military Governor Ronald Storrs. The group included Ashbee, as head of the Pro-Jerusalem Society, members of the Jerusalem Municipality, and members from various religious groups and organizations including the Catholic Custody of the Holy Land, the Greek Orthodox Church, the Jewish community, the Armenian Church, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and the American Colony. This council was to advise the incoming colonial government on the preservation of the character of the city.[52]

Among the significant work undertaken by the PJS was restoration of ancient monuments including the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of the Nativity, the Old

City's walls and the Cotton Souk near the Dome of the Rock. However, there were two apparently contradictory goals of British town planning policy in Jerusalem. The first was to make the city more modern and orderly and the second was to preserve its historical character.[53] These two goals were reflected in the decision to divide the city through urban planning as previously discussed. This has been criticized in recent scholarship as a '[r]omantic and ahistorical … vision of Jerusalem focused on those elements of the city that exuded history and sanctity',[54] having a similar – albeit physical and tangible manifestation – of the preoccupation with the religious past in photography.

In Figures 2.14 and 2.15, the modern constructions abutting the Old City's walls of the Jaffa Gate commercial district and the Damascus Gate, both in Jerusalem, can be seen. These would be progressively removed over the course of the British Mandate period as part of the urban planning schemes for the city. This process of demolition was sped up by the earthquake of 1928, which hastened the removal of the modern buildings. The Jaffa Gate area would eventually fall within the no man's land between East and West Jerusalem after the war in 1948. A green belt established by the British now encircles the Old City, separating it from the new areas surrounding it.

Figure 2.14 *Untitled* [Street scene with the Jaffa Gate Clock Tower].

Box 2: 229

Figure 2.15 *Damascus Gate*.
Jerusalem 1 Album: 13

Scholten's arrival in 1921 and departure in 1923 captures this period of significant urban change to cities like Jerusalem. His photographs offer glimpses of the social life at a moment when great changes were taking place, not only in the field of urban planning policy. The last years of the Ottoman era – before the onset of the British Mandate – were marked by the construction of a 'civic Ottomanism' across the Empire that attempted to secularize administration and addressed ethnic, religious and linguistic difference. Debates around language among the still small, but highly diverse Jewish communities of Palestine – Sephardic and Ashkenazi, Zionist and non-Zionist – are particularly instructive of different cultural and political positions. In particular, debates took place around learning Arabic for integration into local society versus Hebrew revivalism. This had implications for Jewish relationships with Arab Palestinian society more broadly.[55] Michelle Campos argues that:

> The end of the Ottoman era during World War I brought about a widespread "unmixing of peoples," and the formerly heterogeneous, multiethnic, multireligious empire was reshuffled to reflect the prerogatives of the

> homogenizing nation-state. In Palestine, this process of "unmixing" had already begun as part of the Zionist project since the interdependence of Jews and Arabs threatened the nationalist imperative.[56]

The implications of the British urban planning that supported the geographic separation of communities[57] were great and implicitly contributed to differing national visions. This challenged the sense of urban citizenship and belonging shared by the inhabitants of places like Jerusalem, and British policy superimposed sectarian divides on the old Ottoman social order.[58]

While the urban environment changed, so too did the social landscape. Figure 2.16 shows two Jewish children, a man described elsewhere in Scholten's albums as a Spanish Jewish soldier and an urban middle-class Arab boy. While each looks at the camera, aware of Scholten's gaze and the act of photography taking place, the image hints at both shared connection and distance. The physical poses of each person appear cordial and relaxed while passing a moment of conversation, perhaps a conversation mediated by the jovial Scholten himself. However, the physical distance between subjects also speaks to other modes of growing cultural separation. The many shifts that

Figure 2.16 *Untitled* [Street scene in Jerusalem].

Jerusalem 9 Album: 10

were taking place both physically and socially were reflected in Scholten titling his London exhibition 'Palestine in Transition'. How, then, were Palestinians involved in interpreting the 'Holy Landscape' to visiting pilgrims?

Interpreting the 'Holy Land'

Beyond Jerusalem and its dense concentration of holy sites, the Jordan River was another significant space of pilgrimage. Like many in search of religious cartographies, Caignart de Saulcy had spent time in the Jordan Valley, eventually publishing *Narrative of a Journey Round the Dead Sea and in the Bible Lands in 1850 and 1851*, which was published in an English edition in 1853.[59] The Jordan Valley, especially the Baptism site on the Jordan river, had become a feature of many religious itineraries. In Figure 2.17, we see priests on a boat ministering to the pilgrims on the shore during Epiphany. Being two hundred metres below sea level, winter was mild in the Jordan Valley, compared with places like Jerusalem.

The organization of such pilgrimages involved many people including tour guides, interpreters, fixers and dragomans. In Figures 2.17 to 2.20 Scholten

Figure 2.17 *Untitled* [Pilgrims being ministered to from a boat at the River Jordan on Epiphany].

Digitized negative, Jourdain Mer Morte 1: 02

shows us the dynamics of pilgrimage in the Jordan Valley as part of the same series of images. The dragoman had been a ubiquitous fixture of pilgrimage and tourism in Palestine for centuries.[60] The duties of the dragoman included making logistical arrangements, interpreting the sites as a tour guide, dealing with accommodation arrangements from camps to hotel rooms and even helping pilgrims and tourists purchase souvenirs.

In Figure 2.18, two urban Palestinians denoted by the tarbooshes stand behind a *Badu* man. The three men appear to be taking a tour with a number of Orthodox priests. Other photos from the series also show a group of pilgrims, indicating a larger party in which the priests may have brought members of their parish with them. Figure 2.18 gives us a sense of the significant organizational infrastructure behind the planning of pilgrimages in Palestine. It also perhaps hints at some of the communal affiliations between Arabs and Greeks, given the position of priests with respect to their hosts already discussed regarding the souvenir and religious goods industry in Jerusalem. Evidence from the testimonial book of the English-speaking dragoman Solomon Negima, however, also reflects a clientele visiting from Britain and the United States to as far away as New Zealand.[61]

Figure 2.18 *Untitled* [Tour guides, dragomans and Greek Orthodox priests, Jordan River].

Digitized negative, Jourdain Mer Morte 1: 31

The dragoman as a feature of tourism in Palestine – religious or otherwise – was not without moments of friction. European travellers complained of dragomans as 'an obstructive animal, peculiar to the social fauna of the Levant',[62] and it would seem that relations were not always cordial between client and contractor. Despite this, the necessities of an intermediary to navigate language barriers saw the profession prosper. With the growth of consulates in Jerusalem, including Britain (established in 1839), Prussia (1842), France (1843), the United States (1844) and Austria (1849), multilingual dragomans also helped to manage correspondence with Ottoman officials, courts and religious communities, secured travel permits and smoothed over any disputes that may have arisen.[63] In 1891, there were short-lived attempts to impose a system of certification of dragomans. All dragomans in Jerusalem were required to pass an examination to regulate how the holy places were narrated to visitors.[64]

For a profession so fundamental to understanding the interactions of foreign visitors to Palestine, there is an underrepresentation of scholarship on dragomans. However, Rachel Mairs et al. have analysed the testimonial book of Solomon Negima. The book covers the period of 1885 to 1933. While Scholten and Negima had no interactions, the document hints at what Scholten might have encountered during his visit in the last quarter of Negima's documented working life. Mairs' analysis situates Negima's activities within a broader context of travel through the Levant and Egypt and provides an important case study for understanding the micro-history of one individual's working life in the 'Holy Land'.

The question of comfort is one that is addressed repeatedly in Negima's testimonial book, often in reference to the quality of camps, horses and food. In Figure 2.20, Scholten shows us a camp set up to accommodate pilgrims from the same series. Several pilgrims sit beneath the tent while a priest looks on. The camp here is rather rudimentary but also organized, with tents, food and pilgrims' clothing drying on the vegetation in the background. Accounts of Russian pilgrims to Palestine in the late Ottoman era discuss Orthodox pilgrims soaking cloth and other objects to bless them in the waters of the River Jordan. Diaries and memoirs from the period mention that some Russian pilgrims would be baptized again in the Jordan River, ministered by priests from boats (Figures 2.17 and 2.19). They would carefully wrap their clothes, once dried, to be transported home.[65]

Testimonials by Negima's clients use terms like 'obliging', 'attentive', 'scrupulously honest', 'painstaking' and 'trustworthy' and range from brief and to-the-point to longer glowing reviews.[66] If there were any negative interactions,

Figure 2.19 *Untitled* [Pilgrims entering the River Jordan].
Digitized negative, Jourdain Mer Morte 1: 05

Negima certainly did not add them to his testimonial book. Of particular interest is the testimonial of a New Zealand family of German background. A short extract of the longer testimonial – written once in English and again in German – deals directly with the question of visitors' expectations around the interpretation of the 'Holy Landscape':

> We have found him well versed in Bible history and careful in his discrimination between history and tradition. It is seldom that we give a recommendation as heartily as we give this one of Soliman Negima, Dragoman. He understands his business thoroughly. He is versed in all the history and traditions of Syria and Palestine and the most careful students of the Bible will value his opinions most highly.[67]

As Mairs et al. point out, when reading this testimonial against others, Negima carefully differentiates between local understandings of biblical history and textual accounts from the Bible which were given precedence by visitors.[68] The differentiation between the two is important in terms of the process of interpretation between dragoman and visitors. It denotes the commercial necessities of the market and the different ways in which the acts of cultural consumption by visitors met with local modes of producing the 'Holy Land' by tourism operators.

Figure 2.20 *Untitled* [Orthodox pilgrims' camp, River Jordan].
Digitized negative, Jourdain Mer Morte 1: 20

Conclusion

Dragomans shaped visitors' experiences through the ways in which they interpreted Palestine. As with the establishment of the Garden Tomb in Sheikh Jarrah as a Protestant site that was distinguished from the Catholic and Orthodox dominated Holy Sepulchre, the act of interpreting the landscape for different clienteles had implications for how they were addressed based on their backgrounds, denominations, beliefs and interests. Certainly, in the course of field research in Jericho in 2019, I was pointed to three different sites which were said to have the tree of Zacchaeus by various tourism operators.[69] Even the micro-level context of the building of the Church of All Nations and the shifting traditional site of the Agony of Jesus indicates the malleability towards the specificity of holy sites in their reconstruction. The veracity of the physical site was less important than mirroring the religious expectations of pilgrims.

Like the commercial context of biblical photography, tourism operators working in a competitive industry, and the demands of tourists and pilgrims, influenced the ways in which the 'Holy Land' was produced for different cultural consumers through creating tour itineraries. The cultural consumption of

tourism and biblical photography have significant parallels that fundamentally revolve around packaging biblical narratives.

Where Scholten differs from other photographers is in the ways he hones in on specific details as part of larger thematic studies in Palestine, highlighting sites, objects, people and events as part of a comparative process, reflecting an anthropological approach to the photography of Palestine.

The context of mirroring the biblical expectations of cultural consumers be they visiting or 'travelling by proxy' through the photographic image is an underlying function of an economically lucrative market. As much as there was a colonial intent in the scramble for control of holy sites with the onset of the British Mandate (as well as the land itself), there was also a complex operation of transnational cultural connection at play. This was a means of attracting clients by addressing the specificity of their cultural consumption, while also shaping that cultural consumption through new innovations from souvenirs to holy site redevelopments, ultimately remaking Palestine in the image of the 'Holy Land'.

The culture of religion permeated the experience of visitors to Palestine from accommodation needs to visitation of holy sites to souvenir reminders of the 'Holy Land'. It was also a lucrative industry that Palestinians participated in. Scholten's documentary approach catalogues many of the operations involved in producing the 'Holy Land'. He traces the different aspects of the holy sites, churches and industries, interpreting them for his viewers.

Considering the role of the dragoman as an interpreter of the 'Holy Landscape' raises other questions about Scholten as a photographer and the ways in which he interprets the landscape through biblical text. This is especially true of his volumes and the citation of scriptures that he employed to make sense of the modern world of Palestine that he photographed. In some ways, his synthesis of biblical text and photographic image operates in a similar vein to the ways in which the dragoman interpreted the 'Holy Land' to the visitor. In the next chapter, I will consider the ways in which this complex interplay between text and image can be read.

3

On reading through Scholten as methodology

The image sequence opening the first volume of Scholten's book *Palestine Illustrated* shows the beauties of Jaffa, colloquially known as the 'Bride of the Sea', with its proud buildings embracing the Mediterranean port's shores. A biblical quotation, 1 Maccabees 14:34 captions the scene: 'Joppa lieth by the sea'. Closer inspection of the larger verse discusses garrisoning ancient Jaffa in a time of war. It is a fitting reflection of the shift from a former Ottoman province as the Franco-British run Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA) solidified into the formal British Mandate, which marked the years Scholten spent in Palestine.

This chapter proposes methodologies for *reading* Scholten's photographs, and discusses what reading can tell us both of Scholten's unique position and the social, cultural, economic and political transformations Palestine was undergoing during the establishment of the British Mandate. It uses reading to explore how Scholten navigated questions of nationalism, religion, colonialism and identity within the culture of religion in Palestine proposed in the previous chapter.

The first section utilizes photographs that were published in Scholten's *Palestine Illustrated*. It analyses Scholten's complex intermingling of biblical references and images to read Palestinian society and his connections within it. In analysing the biblical quotations he ascribed to specific images, laying bare his opinions which are otherwise typically obfuscated. The second section focuses on reading religious rituals. It primarily focuses on contextualizing Scholten's photographs of the Nabi Musa (Nabī Mūsā, Prophet Moses) Festival as a way of understanding the communal transformations taking place in the early 1920s. It reads these images within the context of social and religious spectacle to consider how nationalism was expressed culturally. The third section analyses the context of gender and sexuality in shaping Scholten's lens. It problematizes the ways in which queerness might be read and understood across cultures and epochs,

laying out groundwork for a longer discussions in subsequent chapters. Thus opens a complex world in which text and image intermingle through Scholten's framing of Palestine and the people and events he encountered.

The band played 'God save the king'

The tenth image in Scholten's second volume, *Jaffa the Beautiful*, is titled 'The Band playing "God save the king"'[1] (Figure 3.1). It is but one of a series of images he took that summer day, showing the event from a number of different angles. Figure 3.1 shows the Anglo conductor, dressed in a safari suit complete with pith helmet and knee-high boots, leading a band of British Gurkha troops playing brass instruments. It follows another image titled 'British military police' with a biblical quotation, again, about garrisons in Joppa, the ancient name of Jaffa.[2] What is remarkable in the band image – and indeed the progression of images in the opening of Scholten's second volume – is that Scholten imparts a glimpse into his political opinions through the employment of biblical references. This offers a rare insight into the inner workings of a man who clearly maintained an apparently cordial line of communication with many different groups and

Figure 3.1 *The band playing 'God save the king'.*
Digitized negative of photograph from *Palestine Illustrated: Jaffa the Beautiful Vol. II* Jaffa la Belle, 001–050: 09

reflects statements made in Scholten's private correspondences with noted personalities across many different geographies and social milieus.[3]

Delving into the biblical references that Scholten employed in his publications offers subtle insights into his personal opinions and political critiques. For example, the first reference that Scholten ascribes to the image of the band is 2 Maccabees 6:7, which describes King Antiochus IV who compelled the Jews to celebrate his birthday by 'brute force', requiring them to eat the intestines of sacrificial animals and drink wine in honour of the pagan god Dionysus.[4] The second reference deals with Saul being made king by God. The passage deals with Saul's reticence to become king, hiding amongst the supplies, with the Lord announcing his location to the people searching for their leader (for more on Saul's problematic kingship see Chapter 5).[5] The third reference tells the story of Athaliah from the Book of Chronicles. On seeing the people rejoice for the king, '[S]he tore her robes and yelled "Treason! Treason!"' In this parable of autocracy, her dissent would lead to her death and orders for anyone who followed her to be put to the sword.[6]

Taken together, these theologically weighty biblical references wash over the image of a band playing the British national anthem, colouring it with a cutting critique. The image was taken on George V's birthday, celebrated in June, addressing Scholten's criticism directly to the British monarch. This image of British imperial power takes on a series of quiet textual contestations around kingship and the right to rule. Embedded in Scholten's captions are the following critiques of imperial rule: firstly, of a king who forces foreign celebrations, secondly, of an ordained king as someone who is absent from their duties of rule, and thirdly, against the autocracy of a monarch.

What appears at first glance in print in *Jaffa the Beautiful* as a jovial scene with flags flying in the fair early summer weather, and a band under Jaffa's famous clocktower, demonstrates a complexity of undercurrents. The clock tower beneath which the band plays is also a monument to another king, Sultan Abdul Hamid II, built to mark his jubilee in 1901, with construction completed in 1903. In photographing a band playing beneath a previous Ottoman ruler's monument, a particular re-narration of power at a time of transition becomes fundamental to the reading of the image.

Another aspect of the published image is its size. While Scholten's books are lavishly illustrated, at 11 x 7.5 cm, the photographic image of the band is rather small – as are the others – obfuscating many of the more interesting details that aid in reading them. One of the great advantages of the collection's digitization is a much clearer picture of the image that is not available in the printed form of the book.

Figure 3.2 *The band playing 'God save the king'* (detail).
Digitized negative of photograph from *Palestine Illustrated: Jaffa the Beautiful Vol. II* Jaffa la Belle, 001–050: 09

Figure 3.2 shows a detail of the same image and gives us a clearer sense of spectators' reactions to the event, helping to contextualize the event and Scholten's framing of it. Bored children with crossed arms stand beside men who stare as much at the band as they do off into space, masking their disinterest in the music and the newly introduced celebration on offer. The subtleties that begin to emerge from Scholten's lens when the image is expanded gives a sardonic inflection to the title, supported by the biblical quotations he ascribed to it.

This operation, as much as it may be read as a devotional and a very scholarly approach to the Bible, also twists and turns into a humorous, political and wry double entendre that engages with the debates on the legitimacy or illegitimacy of Britain's stewardship of Palestine at a moment when the empire was solidifying its rule through the League of Nations. This is conjured dryly through the authority of the scriptures. Reading the image through such a methodology also sheds light on some of the frictions around captioning between Scholten and the organizers of the Anglo-Palestine Society for his exhibition in 1924, outlined in Chapter 1.

In thinking through Scholten's three selected biblical verses, we see dissenters brutally assassinated by a king, another ruler hiding from his duties, and a third that forced those of the 'true faith' to worship as pagans. The interweaving of these biblical narratives tells a story around the incident in the photo. Ariella Azoulay's notion of the photographic event – and the encounters that viewers have with that image after its production – is complicated by Scholten.[7] Here, he adds another layer to the photograph's framing through biblical references for the readers of his books, unbalancing the delicate production of meaning in the triangulation between photographer, photographed and spectator in favour of the humorous, if didactic, biblical quips of the former. Layered on top of this, Scholten generally does not quote the actual text of the biblical references, instead more typically giving a shorthand of a few letters and numbers for the book, chapter and verse. This effectively buries his opinion in a nomenclature that is opaque to anyone who does not know the holy texts with relative intimacy, as it does in this particular case.

Beyond a straightforward tale of his own personal opinions on political matters – and certainly his defence of Catholicism as a convert – we see a wry humour in this obfuscation. It becomes a playful way to make judgemental quips, chastize by making biblical parallels, or proffer didactic pronouncements to those with a religious knowledge. Indeed, even in his postcards to his friend Geertje, Scholten repeatedly jokes about the 'heathens' as a term to describe Protestants.[8] A whole humorous language abounds, betraying his audacious opinions, but also burying them deeply within the cover of a nomenclature of biblical quotations.

What is perhaps most interesting about 'The band playing "God save the king"' is the final biblical verse Scholten references, Deuteronomy 31:19. This verse reads: 'Now write down this song and teach it to the Israelites and have them sing it, so that it may be a witness for me against them.' The chapter deals with God setting down the Song of Moses as a means of testing the fidelity of the Israelites towards him upon their entering and conquering the 'Promised Land', with God's expectation that they would forsake him generations later but still remember the song. Referencing God's test appears to be a damning political critique of British colonialism and its support of Zionism, as much as it is a theological framing of the debate on the nature of competing nationalisms (both Arab and Zionist) and colonial rule. Yet it is veiled in the humour of the three earlier quips. Each of these verses are only gestured at through opaque notations, creating multiple hurdles for the reader to reach Scholten's intended meaning.

How then did this eccentric Catholic convert consider Arab nationalism?

Figure 3.3 *The editor of La Palestine, the most popular paper of Arab propaganda in Jaffa* [Portrait of ʻIsa al ʻIsa and his son Raja].

Digitized negative of photograph from *Palestine Illustrated: Gate of Entrance Vol. I* Porte Entrée 101–150: 11

Among the many people Scholten photographed is this portrait of ʻIsa Al ʻIsa (ʻĪsā al-ʻĪsā), the editor of the Palestinian nationalist newspaper *Filastin* (*Filasṭīn*, also published in English as *La Palestine*), established in January 1911 (Figure 3.3). It quickly became one of the most widely read newspapers in Palestine, with an agenda of modernization that was linked to the Young Turk Revolution, as part of the Ottoman reform movement.[9] ʻIsa Al ʻIsa and his cousin Yusef Al ʻIsa (Yūsif al-ʻĪsā) who jointly established the newspaper represented the new upwardly mobile urban class.[10]

Al ʻIsa's portrait appears in *The Gate of Entrance*, a direct translation of the original French title, *Porte de Entrée*. This first volume of *Palestine Illustrated* has a more ethnographic focus than *Jaffa the Beautiful*, and Al ʻIsa is featured in chapter II ʻFaiths', section 1, ʻThe Christians', subsection (2) ʻThe Greek Orthodox', to give a context to the levels on which Scholten chose to taxonomize his subjects.[11] The picture shows Al ʻIsa in a sharply tailored suit complete with pocket square, holding his baby son Raja. It is presumably taken in Al ʻIsa's home, and the wall behind displays a degree certificate,[12] that highly modern accoutrement of the photograph, and a small, stylish wall mirror. It is a candid look into the interior world of a modern man of business[13] who was an increasingly significant player

in the press, Arab nationalist politics and the shaping of modern Palestinian consciousness through media.

Scholten captions the picture 'The editor of "La Palestine", the most popular paper of Arab propaganda in Jaffa'. It should be noted the word propaganda had a significantly less harsh tone at the time.[14] Scholten ascribed 1 Maccabees 14:35 and directly quoted 'He sought by all means to advance his own people'. The quoted chapter deals with Simon and the duties he carries out in protecting his people and his nation. The quote denotes an admiration for Al 'Isa and his achievements in furthering the Palestinian nationalist cause through his newspaper, even if the title it was given backhandedly qualifies Al 'Isa's political aims.

Beyond the immediacy of Al 'Isa's nationalism, Scholten's books show many of the well-known figures of the day, including other members of the Al 'Isa family, Herr Wagner of the German Sarona Colony, 'Umar al-Bīṭār the Mayor of Jaffa, 'Abdullāh Dajānī and Faik Tamari, members of Jaffa's notable families, as well as Alfred Roch.[15]

Alfred Roch was an Arab elite from Jaffa, involved in the orange growing and export industry (Figure 3.4). He was also a Palestinian nationalist who was appointed to serve on the Arab Higher Committee in 1936.[16] He has been labelled a bourgeois bohemian for the lavish costume parties that he held at

Figure 3.4 *The owner of the garden* [Alfred Roch in his orange grove].

Digitized negative of photograph from *Palestine Illustrated: Jaffa the Beautiful, Vol. II*, Image 201 Jaffa la Belle 201–250: 01

his estate outside Jaffa, surrounded by orange groves.[17] He was also close to the Husseini family who were one of the leading Palestinian political dynasties involved in Arab nationalist politics.

Controversially, the historian Liora Halperin has accused Roch of killing of a Jewish settler Yaakov Abramovich in a scuffle during a picnic in September 1902.[18] Scholten ascribes a quote from the Book of Daniel 13:4 to his published portrait of Roch in a subsection dedicated to famous 'Homes in the Gardens'.[19] The quote comes from a passage on the story of Joakim, a wealthy man in Babylon whose house, which adjoins a lovely garden, was often visited by Jews. Scholten abridged the longer passage to ' … was a … rich man, and had a fair garden joining unto his house'. The broader context of the passage goes into a discussion of Joakim's beautiful wife Susanna, who was falsely accused of infidelity to her husband in their orchard in Babylon, but was later vindicated. The passage goes on to explore the besmirching of Joakim and Susanna's good names.

The photograph of Roch in his orange grove and the ascription of such a biblical reference may well be a reflection of gossip surrounding the accusation of murder. The parable – and its narrative of besmirching the innocent – appear to be a defence of Roch. After the incident Roch moved to Greece until 1908. Such a quotation has a significant implication for the way Scholten understood such a piece of gossip some twenty years later, but also suggests a vindication of Roch in Scholten's eyes. This subtle referencing of such a contentious allegation demonstrates Scholten's closeness to communities in Jaffa, particularly when read against his use of biblical narratives elsewhere in his publications.

The portrait directly relates to the quotation's subject matter and the reference of wealth and the garden, but embedded within it is a reflection on inter-communal tensions going back some twenty years earlier to the turn of the century. The barb demonstrates humour in the knowledge of the alleged incident, but like 'The band playing "God save the king"', it veils the context of the biblical reference within only part of its text. For those able to decode the quotation, its humour relies on limiting who is laughing – and at what – to a narrow audience, thereby delimiting knowledge in an exclusive manner.

Roch and his wife Olynda were known to have thrown lavish costume parties. One such party, themed around Pierrot clown costumes in 1924, was famously replicated by Jumana Manna in her film *A Sketch of Manners*.[20] Another party from Faik Tamari's photographic collection in 1927 shows a tongue-in-cheek Orientalist theme,[21] where partygoers are dressed subversively as stylish western Orientalist clichés of eastern costume in a demonstration of classed transnational humour (Figure 3.5).[22] The milieu would be one in which Scholten was very comfortable, given his own bohemian worlds in Berlin and Amsterdam.

Figure 3.5 *Alfred and Olynda Roch's masquerade party* (26 February 1927).
Photo Rachmann, Jaffa Faik Tamari Collection. Image courtesy of Vera Tamari

These insights give a sense of Scholten's perceptions and relations with Arab nationalist elites. Fortunately, Scholten's meticulous projects of photographic documentation follow various commercial and industrial networks, and pay attention to other aspects of the *Filastin* newspaper. Image 105 (Figure 3.6), 'Selling "La Palestine" newspaper', in *Jaffa the Beautiful* is one of a series of photos of an unknown newspaper boy wearing a *kufiyya*, a *dishdash* and holding copies of the newspaper to sell in a street of the city.

The biblical quote ascribed to this image is abridged to 'And the events of times and ages' from Wisdom 8:8. The passage speaks of the ways in which Solomon loved the figure of wisdom who provided him with knowledge of the past and ways to foresee dealings in the future. The quote implies praise for the quality of journalism in the newspaper, and its selection suggests that Scholten was engaged on some level with local political issues, perhaps even a prescience of the threat that Zionism might pose to Arab communities.

In an Arabic press clipping that Scholten pasted into a notebook of articles and interviews about his publications, an article from *Filastin* dated 21 January 1930 praises his publications and recalls fondly the Dutchman and his camera

Figure 3.6 *Selling 'La Palestine' newspaper.*
Digitized negative of photograph from *Palestine Illustrated Vol. II*, Image 105 Jaffa 25: 06

who travelled for several years in Palestine.[23] The cordial nature of the article demonstrates a reciprocation of Scholten's own admiration, though it should be said his work was also reviewed in the Zionist press favourably as well.[24]

A note under 'Selling "La Palestine"' also refers the reader to the earlier portrait of Al 'Isa, drawing us back to the previous volume (Figure 3.3), effectively recentring elites in Scholten's narration of Arab nationalism. However, the image also demonstrates the ways in which new modern industries such as journalism impacted different strata across the class spectrum of Palestinian society. As much as cities like Jaffa or Jerusalem contained elites, they also had a significant population of workers and a growing core of day labourers flowing in and out of urban spaces.[25] These workers and their relationship to the *Fellahin* would be an important component of the Arab Uprising in 1936,[26] with implications for imagery around the *kufiyya* that are discussed in Chapter 4.

By the 1930s, the Mandate era was marked by debates in economic journals such as *al-Iqtiṣādiyyāt* about building the nation's economy and regulating the consumption needs and wants of different classes and social beings.[27] Whether or not such economic development had significant impacts on the lives of the working classes is another question, though tracing industries as Scholten did certainly gives an insight into dynamics from the upwardly mobile milieus

from the Al 'Isa family to the young newspaper boy. How, then, can we analyse the politics of cultural shifts, processes of identity formation and the changing impacts of religion in Scholten's framing of Palestinian society?

Reinventing ritual and reading the changing nation

While Scholten gave us rare – if encoded – insights into his own opinions on Palestinian society through his employment of biblical references in his publications, his photography of religious events offers another lens through which to view the changes that Palestinian society was undergoing. He took photos of many of the religious festivals including Easter (both Catholic and Orthodox), the Nabi Musa Festival, Passover, *Nabī Rūbīn*, The Dormition of the Virgin Mary and *Purim*, to name a few.

The images Scholten produced of religious events show their exuberance and spectacle, demonstrating their social and cultural importance. The many diverse festivities and rituals that the 'Holy Land' produced and encapsulated were one of Scholten's many subjects. His photos of such festivities give us a glimpse into the collective social space of different communities, but also the ways in which such rituals were not static, but undergoing a process of reinvention, both before the British arrived and as they cemented control of the region. The spring period was a particular nexus for many of these festivities, including Nabi Musa, Easter, Passover and *Purim,* among others.[28] It was also the time of year when Alfred Roch held his masquerade parties.[29] This confluence of religious festivities made for heightened nationalism in Palestine,[30] particularly within the foment of the early years of the British rule, as was the case with the Nabi Musa Riot in 1920, a year before Scholten arrived. Other important festivities such as *Nabī Rūbīn* or Simon the Just took place in the summer.

The overlap of festivals in the springtime including Nabi Musa, *Bi`r `Ayūb* (Job), *Purim* and culminating with *Sabt an-Nūr* ('The Saturday of Fire', or Holy Saturday of Orthodox Easter), made for an accumulation of cross-communal celebrations.[31] The convergence of these events and the changes that these festivals underwent in the late years of Ottoman rule and the early British Mandate period have been analysed by historians as part of the emergence of a cross-communal spectacle and secularized public sphere.[32]

In considering Scholten's photos of religious festivities, we can see parallels of the identity dynamics already discussed in the previous section of this chapter. Rather than manifesting in Scholten's application of biblical verses,

Figure 3.7 *Untitled* [Outside the shrine at Nabi Musa].
Digitized negative, Jerusalem Nebi Musa: 74

here photographs require reading in a different way. Tawfiq Canaan, a medical doctor and anthropologist in his important treatise *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, published in 1927, discusses the Shrine of Nabi Musa as the best-known example of the large shrine complexes,[33] underscoring the importance of the festival at the time when Scholten was in Palestine (Figure 3.7). As a *mawsim* (religious festival, pl. *mawāsim*), Nabi Musa had its roots in the thirteenth century[34] and was historically centred on the Shrine of Moses, located outside of Jericho. By the second half of the nineteenth century the festival had undergone a metamorphosis, paralleling the Ottoman Tanzimat reforms, which created a new secular modern bureaucracy. By 1872 Jerusalem had become an independent *mutaṣarrifiyya* (province), reporting directly to Constantinople. With the new modern state institutions the Ottomans built, the traditional pilgrimage to the Shrine of Nabi Musa came to be a civic festival centring on Jerusalem.[35]

The impacts of the centralization of Ottoman power from the late nineteenth century on Nabi Musa also produced different modes of participation. The most visible manifestation was the centring of Jerusalem over the Nabi Musa Shrine. Pilgrims would arrive first in the 'Holy City' as contingents from particular cities and villages representing Jerusalem, Nablus, Hebron and elsewhere, as

well as each of their local villages, and then procession collectively towards the shrine.[36] Paradoxically, while this made Jerusalem central to the festivities as an Ottoman power base, it also reinforced localized identities over a broader Palestinian nationalism (Figures 3.8, 3.9 and 3.10). Considering this in relation to the overlap of the many religious events in the springtime, the emergence of the 'secularized' cross-communal public sphere speaks to the construction of another layer of identity.

As a Muslim festival, Nabi Musa is unusual in that it follows the Christian solar calendar scheduled to start on the Friday a week before Orthodox Good Friday. A popular rationale for this amongst Palestinians living in Jerusalem is that when Salah ad-Din [Saladin] liberated Jerusalem after the Crusades, it was his intention to respect the city's Christian communities by creating space for them to celebrate Easter while Muslims went on a pilgrimage to nearby Nabi Musa.[37] The veracity of this longstanding local narrative is of less interest than the ways local perceptions of it reflect the close cross-communal and cross-confessional bonds between Muslims and Christians within Arab Jerusalemite communities.

Figure 3.8 *Untitled* [Groups of pilgrims arriving in Jerusalem holding banners and singing chants accompanied by drums and cymbals]

Digitized negative, Jerusalem Nebi Musa: 92

Figure 3.9 *Untitled* [Nabi Musa pilgrims entering Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem].
Digitized negative, Jerusalem Nebi Musa: 46

Figure 3.10 *Untitled* [Nabi Musa contingents near Jaffa Gate, Jerusalem].
Digitized negative, Jerusalem Nebi Musa: 52

A different explanation is put forward by Lars Lind, a member of the American Colony, in his memoirs, which speculated on the geo-political dimensions of Nabi Musa in the late Ottoman period, particularly regarding Imperial Russia's colonial ambitions in the region:

> Muscovite intentions had always been suspect to the Turks and in spite of the Czarist set back in the Crimean War of 1854–56, more Russians than ever were sailing through the Dardanelles to Palestine. According to Turkish suspicions, Russia could transport an army camouflaged as "pilgrims" strong enough to attempt the conquest of the Holy Land at Easter. Religion and politics had been the curse of the Holy City ever since the Crusades, if not before, and the Turks decided to use the same medium to check the Muscovite.[38]

One element of Lind's articulation of geo-political relations points to a cognizance of local bonds between Muslims and Christians, demonstrating the porous and close relationship during a period of mutual celebration.[39] For instance, Sulaymān Jāsir, a local Bethlehem notable and Catholic businessman, would prepare a meal for Nabi Musa pilgrims arriving from Hebron and its villages. The meal would take place on the Saturday before Orthodox Palm Sunday when the green flag of Hebron would be hoisted alongside other religious banners and those from other nearby villages.[40] This again reinforces the cross-communal relations forged during this period of celebration. The nexus of religious festivities and the intermingling of processions around Jerusalem and its hinterland formed a moment of joint spectacle in the spring that contributed to a shared identity. Indeed, in his diary dated 17 April 1919, Khalil Sakakini, the esteemed educator and Arab nationalist, wrote: 'the Nabi Musa celebration in Jerusalem is political, not religious', effectively reinforcing contemporary local perceptions.[41] Sakakini had also been excommunicated from the Greek Orthodox church as part of the *Nahḍa al-Urthudhuksiyya* [Orthodox *Nahda* movement], an Arab nationalist anti-Hellenic reform movement to centre Arabic liturgy and language within the Orthodox church, demonstrating a culturally Christian reading of Nabi Musa.[42]

The other element of Lind's assertion is the Ottoman mobilization of the festival for political purposes. Indeed, during the First World War, the banner of the Prophet Mohammed was sent on a tour of Ottoman provinces from Istanbul to Mecca. The act was designed to agitate for war and framed as jihad, though diaries from the period demonstrate 'a strong sense of civic cross-confessional solidarity', rather than the desired effect of a rallying cry.[43]

The evolution of Nabi Musa continued through the course of the twentieth century, particularly after the beginning of the British occupation of Palestine in

December 1917 and the Nabi Musa Riot in 1920. The British assumed the role previously held by the Ottomans at Nabi Musa. On the first day, British Military Governor of Jerusalem Ronald Storrs inspected the 'Jerusalem banners' of the Prophet David and Haram al-Sharif, as their Ottoman predecessors had done.[44] Historian Yair Wallach describes the spectacle associated with the first Nabi Musa under British control of the city. The British military governor Ronald Storrs unfolded the banner which says 'there is no God but Allah' during the ceremony, a scene that was recorded in a British military propaganda film titled *With the Crusaders in the Holy Land*.[45]

Scholten's photo of the dignitaries at the reception tent outside the shrine (Figure 3.11) mimics this scene and the power dynamics it captures, just a few years later. It shows Haj Amin Husseini, the Arab nationalist and scion of the notable Jerusalemite Husseini family who from 1921 was also the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. To his right is Ronald Storrs, the military governor of Jerusalem, and then Herbert Samuel, the British High Commissioner of Palestine of Jewish background and a supporter of Zionism, wearing a pith helmet.

Figure 3.11 *Untitled* [Ronald Storrs, Haj Amin Husseini and other dignitaries arriving at Nabi Musa].

Digitized negative, Jerusalem Nebi Musa: 115

The photo conveys the shifting power dynamics of the late 1910s and early 1920s in Palestine. Historian Awad Halaby, who has written extensively on Nabi Musa, specifically discussed the way Haj Amin Husseini 'converted the festival into a nationwide and nationalistic event to give ballast to his status as Palestine's preeminent Islamic and national leader.'[46] The image does not simply convey a shift to colonial governance, but the mixture of people shows the vast renegotiations of power and transnational identity dynamics across ruling elites. The many photos that Scholten took of Nabi Musa show different segments of Palestinian society and the re-formation of a power dynamic in the years just after the Nabi Musa Riot of 1920 in Jerusalem, in which five Jews and four Muslims were killed and 251 injured, mostly Jewish. This uprising can be seen as the first of the inter-communal conflicts that would develop during the British Mandate, ultimately leading to the Nakba and the creation of Israel. The following year, there was also unrest in Jaffa at Nabi Musa.

The context of this photo again necessitates reading within the events of the previous two years. More than just a symbol of British power, what Scholten

Figure 3.12 *Untitled* [Gurkha troops on horseback in Jerusalem carrying banners at Nabi Musa].

Digitized negative, Jerusalem Nebi Musa: 03

photographed is an image that propels the viewer back through the previous decade of political events, but also portends the events that will unfold through the course of the British Mandate period, given the mixture of dignitaries it represents. Read within the context of the Nabi Musa Riots and the formal establishment of the Mandate in 1924, it provides a visualization of the modern forces – both local and colonial – that shaped the region.

Other photos from the collection also demonstrate the mobilities that British colonialism brought to Palestine that are often overlooked. Scholten's images of Gurkha troops in the British military participating in Nabi Musa show the circulation of South Asian populations in Arab West Asia (Figure 3.12). The Gurkhas had played a significant role in Allenby's capture of Jerusalem and their battalions experienced a significant loss of life.[47] While links between India and Palestine had their own history and connection, including histories of established pilgrimage and modern tourism industries,[48] the images of South Asian troops shift attention towards more working-class relations deserving of future study. Likewise, as historian Sarah Irving points out, the Indian scholar M. L. Roy Choudhury spent time in Egypt and the Levant as part of his research. Choudhury met with Palestinian anthropologist and medical doctor Tawfiq Canaan and the two discussed the hardships of British colonialism in 1945–1946.[49] Certainly, the proposed partitions of India and Palestine – both in 1947 – demonstrate the ways in which the British colonial administration operated with significant implications for managing religious difference, not to mention their ongoing reverberations today.

The Nabi Musa Riot was in 1920, a year when Nabi Musa, Western and Orthodox Easter as well as Passover intersected.[50] I experienced a similar contemporary confluence of tensions in 2023 when Easter, Ramadan and Passover occurred in the same period, just months before 7 October 2023. In the years after the Nakba in 1948, Jordan limited the character of the Nabi Musa, and Israel stopped it altogether from 1967, although it was briefly revived in the late 1980s and early 1990s.[51]

Much like the image of 'The band playing "God save the king"' (Figure 3.1), similar modes of social dynamics are captured in Scholten's imagery of Nabi Musa, albeit without the useful annotations of biblical quotations to interpret them. Here, the photographs require historical contextualization in order to read them, rather than using Scholten's ascription of biblical quotations. Despite the work needed to contextualize such images, reading them within their historical context goes beyond a mere illustration of history, but gives us new sources from which to understand the social, cultural and political dynamics of the period.

Reading queer milieus across continents

Much like reading Scholten's opinions through biblical references and reading his framing of events through historical contextualization, the third and final section of this chapter problematizes the ways in which gender and sexuality can be read in Scholten's work. This section proposes methods of contextualized readings of gender and sexuality based on contextualized historical evidence. It deals with the complexity of transnational dynamics in reading the work of a queer Dutch photographer and interactions he had locally during the two and a half years he spent in Palestine.

To understand the context of sexuality in early British Mandate Palestine requires a specific methodology and contextualization, as well as an understanding of a very different historical moment. This must navigate three areas: firstly, an understanding of the social context of sexuality in the region from an historical perspective, secondly a legal understanding, and thirdly Scholten's perspective as an individual.

From the social perspective, there is a need to understand the difference between contemporary LGBT or queer identities at a time of more porous relations before nomenclatures like queer, gay or homosexual existed in common parlance. While homosexual acts clearly occurred during the period, the identity categories that defined homosexuality (or indeed heterosexuality) did not exist in such sharp ways. Consequently, language and identity created more porosity historically between contemporary categories such as homosexuals and heterosexuals (see Chapter 5), although they had been employed and explored in early academic and medical studies on sex and sexuality.[52] A number of these terms appear in Scholten's letter to the Dutch Police Commissioner and occasionally in the legal notes discussed in Chapter 1.

Language here becomes a complex issue to describe people who may from a contemporary perspective be read as homosexual, LGBT or queer, but who may not have used the language of such contemporary categories to describe and construct personal identifications at the time. This is even more complicated when addressing this question in two separate cultural contexts: north-western Europe and the Arab eastern Mediterranean. Even in a contemporary Arab context, use of terms to describe same-sex attraction has been a source of debate within queer communities and often relies on imported terms.[53] Joseph Massad controversially argued against the universalization of contemporary LGBT sexual identities, seeing them as part of a recent colonial importation to the Arab World from the West.[54] This is not to say that the acts we define as queer today

did not exist, but only that such identities as we understand them today were more amorphous. Certainly, the poetry of Abu Nuwas (*c*. 750–815 CE) attests to a long history of same-sex desire in the Arab World.[55] Alongside historical social considerations of queerness are the importance of understanding legal frameworks related to queer acts.

The act of sodomy had been decriminalized across the Ottoman Empire in 1858 as part of the Tanzimat Reforms with the Ottoman adoption of the Code Napoleon (a similarity with the Dutch case). Before the decriminalization of sodomy, the penalty had primarily been a series of tiered fines based on class and sexual role.[56] This indicates a different and more permissive legal regime than was at play in much of Europe at the time. Homosexuality was re-criminalized by the British in Palestine first with anti-sodomy legislation for non-consensual acts in 1927, and then the banning of homosexual relations completely in 1936.[57] These British laws were repealed in Jerusalem and the West Bank in 1951 by the Jordanian government, in what later became Israel in 1989, and are still in place in Gaza today. The arena of sexual diversity in 1921 to 1923 when Scholten was in Palestine was a period of change not only in terms of colonial regimes, but one in which the legality of sexuality was beginning to undergo changes.

The Palestinian legal framework would have certainly been more conducive to living a queer life (as Scholten did) than in the Netherlands, which had been tightening legislation around homosexuality under article 248bis as discussed in Chapter 1, despite the legal status of homosexuality under Dutch law.[58] Certainly Scholten was but one of a queer expatriate milieu in Palestine, which also included figures like Charles Ashbee and Jacob Israël de Haan. The legal framework and the social framework are two different paradigms through which to view queer life. It is hoped that more research on queer social life in Palestine and the Arab World more generally will be conducted in due time. Certainly, new research has delved into the queer history of Arab Diasporas in the period.[59]

The third paradigm is the very particular and individual vision of Frank Scholten as both a queer and a religious photographer, but one who was also active within queer European milieus and embroiled in legal predicaments related to sex and sexuality which mediated his decision to travel to Palestine. There is a gendered bias in the Scholten Collection where men are over-represented. This is unlikely to have been a conscious artistic decision on Scholten's part. In a search of the 26,525 items digitized in the collection, 'man' as a search term shows 3,766 and 'men' 6,212, while 'woman' and 'women' 1,115 and 1,759 respectively. This bias is unlikely to have been conscious but nonetheless suggests that for every one instance of women in Scholten's photos, there are around three instances of men.

A useful point of comparison is the photographic albums compiled by the musician Wasif Jawharriyeh (1897–1972) that are the subject of analysis in *Camera Palaestina*. The Scholten Collection holds a resonance with historian Salim Tamari's analysis of the prevalence of men and absence of women in the collected photo albums of Wasif Jawhariyyeh.[60] Tamari points out the general absence of women's representation in the photographic albums, despite much discussion of them in Jawhariyyeh's diaries. Tamari notes a small handful of instances of images of women, such as the famed singer Umm Kulthum, and a series of images such as women's demonstrations from the Buraq Uprising in 1929.[61] This suggests that either there were more complex dynamics at play in the photographing of women to create such a gender bias in the Scholten Collection, or that men's participation in public space was perhaps simply greater than women's.

Scholten's time in Palestine leaves us with a plethora of visual material, though little in the way of textual records beyond the consistent yet perfunctory series of postcards between himself and Geertje Pooijar in Volendam, as previously discussed. To understand the queer subtext of the collection requires extracting visual information and correlating it with what is known of Scholten's time in Europe. Scholten was well engaged with the queer life of Northern Europe before he travelled to Palestine. As discussed in Chapter 1, he spent at least some time in Berlin with Magnus Hirschfeld. At that time, Hirschfeld had just published[62] one of the early landmark studies that dealt with taxonomizing gender and sexuality in the emergent science of sexology.[63] It is likely to have been a contribution to the ways Scholten addressed ethno-confessional and national difference in his subject matter in Palestine.[64] Scholten's time in Amsterdam and his proclivity for labourers and military men have implications for the ways in which we read images of labour (see Chapter 5), but also how he traces networks of labour across various classes and segments of society. His letter to the Dutch Police Commissioner explicitly mentions the very different circles in which he moved.

Scholten's desire for working and military men is likely to have informed his photographic investigations of the labour industry and the forensic detail with which he approached the subject. Certainly, his photographs of the orange industry range from agriculture through picking, packing, transportation to Jaffa Port and then onto boats. Likewise, his photographs of factories for tobacco, concrete and tanneries display a similar pattern of investigation. The presence of men as workers occupies a central role in understanding the nature of this kind of work, but also, as I will argue in Chapter 5, effectively conflates masculinity and nationalism.

Religion also plays a key role in Scholten's queer framing. Take for instance Scholten's repeated references to the biblical figure of David and his relationship

to Jonathan as well as the many visual representations he collected of the pair. Tracing these and the biblical references Scholten ascribed to them yields particular insights into queer religious configurations, much like tracing biblical references in his publications. This will be explored at length in Chapters 4 and 5, contextualizing them within imagery that Scholten took of the *Fellahin* and labourers.

Scholten's photographs give us many social insights, often from a personal perspective, of many areas in Palestine, queer entanglements included. While we cannot universalize these individualized social moments, they are very useful historical data for understanding a different cultural context and period about which we have little information on queerness. Understanding them within the context of the photographic event also gives brief, though tantalizing insights into male intimacy, friendship and even sexual life as the British Mandate came to be formally established.

Conclusion

This chapter has proposed three methodologies for reading Scholten's photographs. The first focuses on the ways Scholten employed biblical references to code his opinions in his framing of Palestine. This is a fertile methodology that gives us useful access into his inner workings, in order to understand Scholten as an individual on a micro-historical level and his encounters in Palestine, particularly in lieu of more textual sources. The second employs a process of contextualizing his photographs within bodies of other historical evidence. It focuses on how his photographs can be read on a collective level, giving us insights into the meso-level networks of actors in Palestinian society. In reading his images this way, we are able to understand and contextualize the changes in communalism and inter-communal interactions that were so fundamental to understanding Palestine in the early 1920s. The third contextualizes readings of queerness and gender in the collection. It is important to foreground both in further readings of gender and sexuality, especially given the multiple geographies, cultural spheres and a very different time period, as will become evident in Chapter 5.

Each of these methodologies takes a different approach to reading Scholten's work. In doing so, they proffer ways of reading at different levels: from the individual to the collective to the transnational. They also provide scope for analysing identity categories such as nationalism, religious affiliation, gender and queerness, which interact in different ways.

In the following chapters, different aspects of these methodologies will be employed and intersected with the culture of religion to read different aspects of identity in Palestinian society and contextualize them historically. In the next chapter, I will consider the ways Scholten captured social performances and situated them within the context of communalism, class and urban-rural divides within the context of competing nationalisms in early 1920s Palestine.

4

On reading social performance

The enduring imagery of Palestine as the 'Holy Land', an ancient biblical idyll, was accompanied by the equally powerful trope of the region's continuous inhabitation by peoples unchanged since biblical times.[1] Even within scholarly circles of early twentieth-century Palestine, the *Fellah* (fellāḥ masc.; fellāḥa fem.; and fellāḥīn collective; villagers, those who populated the countryside or 'peasants') culture was coloured by biblical perceptions, relating the body to the ancient land from which it came. The Palestinian physician and anthropologist Tawfiq Canaan argued in his work on agriculture that he depended on the Old Testament to compare past and present farming practices in the rural sphere. Both he and Gustav Dalman shared the idea that the Old Testament could only be understood through knowledge of contemporary Palestinian folk practices.[2] This perception was also mirrored by Zionist histories of the time, in which the *Fellahin* were assumed to be the descendants of ancient Jews and Samaritans who had converted first to Christianity and later Islam, according to historian Yitzhak Ben-Zvi and Zionist leader David Ben Gurion.[3]

This chapter considers the ways in which social performances and costuming mediated different groupings' links to Palestine and the implications that this had on sites of visual contestation through photography. The *Fellah* body came to be seen as an extension of the 'Holy Landscape', the perception of authentic biblical indigeneity that was an unbroken link to the biblical past.[4] Indeed, this visual phenomenon ran deep, bolstered by a photographic export industry and consumer market that was hungry for biblical representations both in popular and scholarly imaging.[5]

The first section of this chapter addresses the classed ways in which *Fellahin* have been framed and constructed in visual culture more broadly and the ways in which Scholten approached them. The second section considers the ways in which Scholten photographed performances of identification with *Fellahin* culture and identity by both Arab Palestinians and Jewish Zionists. It considers this within the contexts of class and nationalism to mark 'biblical indigeneity' and how Scholten

understood this in formulating his photographic project. The third section approaches communalism and draws on examples of inter-communal relations, including relationships to the *Badu*. The fourth addresses the queer dimensions to biblical imagery of the *Fellahin* in the materials collected by Scholten, as well as its relationship to queer milieus – both in Palestine and elsewhere – in navigating the re-periodization of rural working bodies through religious imagery.

The 'Holy Peasant': *Fellahin* and the biblical lens

The implications of the 'biblical lens' are significant to how people were imaged *as* landscape. This phenomenon has been addressed in several ways by scholars. For instance, 'biblification' can be seen as the selective highlighting of imagery that upheld biblical narratives, effectively removing signs of modernity from the framing of a photograph to pursue authentic biblical vision.[6] Such selective filtering had a significant impact on the ways in which Palestine was viewed abroad, effectively projecting the 'Holy Land' backwards in time to a putatively originary biblical past, particularly in the circulation of images such as postcards, souvenirs or in religious books as explored in Chapter 2. In this way, the bodies of the *Fellahin* were used to support a temporal collapse between the present and the biblical past.[7]

Even within scholarly photographic practices such as those in the booming field of archaeology by visiting foreign scholars, the presence of Palestinian bodies was minimized in scale, instead favouring the 'discovery' and 'exploration' of the 'holy' landscape. If they were photographed at all, workers would appear as bodies marking scale in archaeological sites of religious or historical cultural importance.[8] In this way, even by virtue of scale, they came to be imaged as ancient vestiges of an ancient landscape, despite the very modern work they were performing. They were rarely imaged in their own right, but were certainly the object of scholarly study.[9]

A number of Western scholarly institutions were established primarily in Jerusalem starting with the London-based Palestine Exploration Fund (1865) which later established the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (1919). They were shortly followed by the Russian Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society (1882), the École Biblique et Archéologique Français de Jérusalem (1890), the American School of Oriental Study and Research in Palestine (1900) and the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes (1902), among others, each with their own photographic archives.

Class dynamics and education must be taken into account in understanding the confluence of opinions around the origins of *Fellahin* identity by Arab Palestinian, Zionist and European academics. This is well exemplified by the shared perceptions of *Fellahin* indigeneity held by Tawfiq Canaan, Gustave Dalman, Yitzhak Ben-Zvi and David Ben Gurion, each of whom had an educated background and relative privilege. This points as much to the close physical proximity that such scholars – regardless of their religious or ethnic backgrounds – had to the *Fellahin* as much as the classed distance between them. The *Fellahin* may have been physically proximate, but for modern scholars they were perceived as a relic of the past worthy of scholarly documentation, particularly given the transformations of modernity. This effectively constructed a gap between modern and pre-modern subject positions.

The dynamics of class relations are captured visibly in the many photographs of *Fellahin* agricultural labourers, by many photographers, Scholten included. These embedded dynamics underscore a number of important points. Firstly, these images buttress the narrative of an empty, underpopulated and underdeveloped land, particularly in imagery of the rural sphere. This narrative of underdevelopment has significant resonances within the context of modernization in the region and the relationships of various local strategies to undermine such imaging.[10] Secondly, such images depict a particular and highly classed encounter between the colonial scholarly lens and the *Fellah* body, rather than highlighting the plurality of Palestine, which might be viewed from perspectives of ethno-confessional, class or urban – rural diversity and difference. While the depiction of such broad diversity is a lot to ask of any single image, the repetition of this colonial dynamic in tropes of archaeological and survey imaging significantly affected how Western cultural consumers hungry for biblical imagery interpreted Palestine. The third point is the primacy of landscape. *Fellah* bodies as scale markers belie a relationship to the primary photographic subject: the biblical land that they populate. When such photos are read within a broader context that includes popular biblified portrait photography (for example Figure 2.1), the vestigial status of ancient unchanged bodies in an ancient and unchanged land creates a subtext of indigeneity or aboriginality of those bodies, but also implicitly reinforces a colonial hierarchy with the 'modern' viewer involved in the transnational mobilities of the image.[11]

Untangling the social relations in such image narratives becomes a complicated task, particularly when one considers that Arab photographers were also involved in such photographic practices. For instance, Khalil Raad took many photos of religious scenes and was also commissioned to document archaeological sites.

Examples such as Raad's 'Ruth the Gleaner'[12] demonstrate how a *Fellaha* could be transformed into a biblical figure simply through the act of captioning or titling, although the possibilities of a nationalist reading or response in this context contradict those reading with the colonial intent of biblification.[13]

Beyond such class dynamics, another question raised is how did such religiously and ethnically diverse scholars understand the notion of indigeneity? The mobilization of *biblical indigeneity* formed an important visual referent in photography, and one that created complex and competing nationalist claims in reconstructing visions of the past for divergent views of the future. In this regard, *Fellahin* authenticity, and by extension the clothing/costuming worn by those communities, was presumed central – both on a scholarly and popular level – as a continuity of the biblical past by the urban middle classes, whether Arab or Jewish in Palestine, or more transnationally, in places like Europe and North America.

Scholten had amassed a considerable archive of images that he collected, though it is not known whether these images predate his travels or were acquired afterwards. This aside, he certainly travelled through Palestine encumbered by a very significant library of 6,000 books.[14] From this we can deduce that Scholten broadly understood the field of imagery that surrounded Palestine. In his interviews and articles in the press, Scholten frequently mentioned the importance of documenting the ancient life of the 'Holy Land' disappearing with modernity.[15] This, along with titling his exhibition 'Palestine in Transition', infers that he understood the imaging tropes at play. It also evinces a particular modern vision of biblical narrative in Palestine.

Whether Scholten was surprised by the modern cities and life that he found in Palestine, or if it was simply a means of marketing his work which differed so much from other Western photographers, can only remain conjecture unless further evidence is unearthed in the future. What is certain is that Scholten was aware of the biblical tropes at play and that he attempted to capture different spheres of social life in Palestine.

Much of the population of British Mandate Palestine was made up of rural *Fellahin*. *Fellahin* communities were consistently photographed either for popular biblified consumption in the way of souvenirs, postcards and for religious books or magazines, or in terms of ethnographic or archaeological research that was linked with 'studying the Bible' in its geographic context.[16] Despite featuring heavily in imagery, there are few images that were taken by the *Fellahin* of themselves. While more evidence may emerge in the future, the

earliest images taken by members of rural communities of rural communities themselves that I have been able to trace appear to date to the late 1940s.[17] It is important to contextualize the agency – or lack thereof – of the *Fellahin* in shaping their own image, particularly images circulating in the public domain rather than family archives.

Identity troubles: performing biblical indigeneity

It is clear that Scholten had good relations with many people, especially elites who are easier for the historian to trace photographically. In an interview with Dutch magazine *Eigen Tijdschrift* about his publications, Scholten describes the difficulties of taking images in contexts that crossed class, both amongst the urban working classes and the *Fellahin* in rural areas. In particular, he recounts trying to take a photo of a group of children picking up cigarette butts to smoke in Jaffa. He recounts that as he was about to take a photo, he was struck from behind by a man who, according to the article, snapped at him, saying 'You won't do that, you won't make fun of us in Europe,'[18] highlighting a moment of local agency in refusing to be photographed in at least one instance. If the incident was more than mere hyperbole for press coverage after the release of Scholten's books, it certainly underscores the complex classed and racialized power dynamics between photographer and subject as well as audience and content, but also demonstrates the cognizance of at least some of his photographic subjects of the ways in which they felt they were being portrayed.

In the same candid article, Scholten recounts the troubles associated with taking photos in villages and rural areas. He often travelled with both a driver, who would guard the car, and a guide who could take him where he wanted to go. He recounted one very telling incident with equal measures of humour and paternalism, saying:

> We often had to use all kinds of means against simple people to achieve our goal [of taking photographs] … A shepherd boy did not want to be photographed under any circumstances until my driver said that he should be careful because his refusal could result in no more or less than a war with Italy! I was namely a high Italian military authority, and you understand … "When would the war come?" the young man inquired. Well, immediately, my driver replied. Well, then nothing could be done, and the shepherd did indeed save Palestine from a war with Mussolini.[19]

Figure 4.1 *Untitled* [Shepherd boy playing a flute].
Box 2: 1699

The incident once again underlines classed transnational dynamics. While on the one hand an element of humour permeates the story as narrated by Scholten in marketing his publications, it also underscores the power dynamics of terrifying the shepherd boy into forcibly having his photo taken. This raises a significant ethical issue of consent, but also gives us a sense of how Scholten and his chauffeur navigated class dynamics to assert his project.

The image of the shepherd boy (Figure 4.1) and the story that Scholten related around the production of such a photo speak to a very uneven interaction. This interaction demonstrates the power dynamics between photographer and the photographic subject-turned-object. As photography theorist Susan Sontag notes, to photograph something is to appropriate it,[20] underscoring the problems of the transnational power relations between the two. Moreover, such a dynamic is further bolstered by a classed context, and one that has colonial implications in light of the establishment of the British Mandate. What does it mean for an upper-class Dutch photographer to take such an image of Palestinian *Fellah*?

The image itself sits within classic tropes of biblification. It shows a boy shepherd, playing a flute and wearing a typical sheep-skin jacket made from the

hide of a sheep. There are numerous examples of similar images, for instance the American Colony Photo Department produced an image that was especially coloured to make it a deluxe product, competitive in a saturated market.[21] A black and white version can be seen in Figure 4.16. This might also be compared to images Scholten collected, such as the one of *David playing the harp* by Harold Copping (Figure 4.15).

The story that Scholten relayed of taking the photograph of the shepherd boy (Figure 4.1) indicates he happened upon the boy while travelling with his driver (Figure 4.2) who appears in a number of Scholten's photos. His driver's name is not recorded in extant sources, but he wears jodhpurs and the typical urban fashions of the day. The boy's reticence to be photographed underscores a subtext of suspicion or distrust of the foreigner, which speaks to an uncomfortable power dynamic between photographer and photographic object. Despite this, the image must be read as a relatively authentic documentary representation, even if it was one that was produced through coercion. This image of the shepherd boy and the handful of others taken at the same time do however indicate some staging, for instance in the performance of playing the flute. This further complicates the reading of the dynamics surrounding the image. It points to Scholten playing a

Figure 4.2 *Chauffeur*.
Jerusalem Album 3: 35

defining role in framing the image as well as in shaping the activity captured of the boy photographed. Further, the boy does not look directly into the camera, but is instead shot in profile, concentrating intensely on his music, possibly due to the threat of a potential war with Italy conjured by Scholten and his chauffeur.

Understanding this blurring of the distinction between Scholten's project of documenting a changing Palestine and his moulding of the scene into a particular vision of the biblical past, his framing and the deceit demonstrate that while Scholten was eager to document the more legibly modern aspects of Palestinian society, there was still an impulse to seek out biblical tropes. However, it is important to foreground the fact that such framing – and indeed the photographic process itself – was also a part of a modern act of reframing the past in much the same way that the building boom of churches and religious infrastructure supported the expectations of 'Holy Land' tourism and pilgrimage discussed in Chapter 2.

Scholten's village landscapes provide fascinating insights into the rural sphere of Palestinian society as much as the interactions between him and the local populations he photographed. Other photos show very different dynamics between Scholten and the people he photographed. The village of Yazūr was on the periphery of Jaffa, near what is today Ben Gurion Airport. It was one of the villages on the Jaffa-Jerusalem Road that Scholten visited and photographed repeatedly. Given its proximity to Jaffa, it would seem he visited Yazūr more than the other villages he documented in the corridor between the two cities.

The many images of Yazūr that are currently being catalogued by UBL include images of the village itself, events such as a wedding, and people going about their lives in an urban periphery village of Jaffa. As in many of Scholten's photographic subjects, when these images are looked at as part of a series, new information can be drawn from them.

Among other subjects Scholten documented was the area around the village well. This series of images shows both the infrastructure of the well with its wooden pump systems, as well as the social life that surrounded its function as a water source. The scene recalls Tawfiq Canaan's commentary about understanding rural practices through the Old Testament, but also has a confluence and tension with the rusticity of biblified imagery in depicting the *Fellahin* world.[22] Scholten's imagery of Yazūr shows us many views of the village and its life, but also sits in tension with the biblical lens that other photographers preceding him established.[23] Figures 4.3 and 4.4 are an interesting contrast to the broader series. While the other photos of Yazūr demonstrate a more documentary approach to snapshot photography, these

Figure 4.3 *Untitled* [Woman holding a jug on her head, Yazūr].
Digitized negative, Yazūr: 03

two demonstrate at least some posing and interaction between Scholten and the subject.

Comparing the two provides insights into the constructed nature of Scholten's documentary process. In both images, the woman is facing the camera with the well behind her as she holds a jar on her head. The jar is on its side, with the woman's right hand holding its brim to steady it. In Figure 4.3, a mid-portrait of the woman, her face is dewed with perspiration, and she appears to be trying not to smile, mimicking a relatively neutral face on the verge of cracking a smile. In Figure 4.4, the series continues with a full-length portrait of the same scene, but here, the woman has a large smile, probably taken moments before or after the previous shot. In both cases, the relationship between Scholten and his subject seems cordial, even warm. This has parallels with other images, such as that of the wedding celebration in Yazūr (Figure 4.5). However, the woman's pose in both images reproduces a pretence of having left the well after collecting water, despite her empty jug balanced on top of her head at a tilt. While reading the images as documents of everyday social life in Yazūr, it's important to contextualize the interventions that Scholten made in the production of his images. This again reinforces the relational aspects of photography and the act

Figure 4.4 *Untitled* [Woman holding a jug on her head, Yazūr].
Digitized negative, Yazūr: 01

Figure 4.5 *Untitled* [Wedding celebration in Yazūr].
Digitized negative, Sarona 5: 73

of viewing through questions of veracity in this propositional simulation of daily life. In the next section, I will consider the ways in which *Fellahin* and *Badu* identity were mobilized as a marker of authenticity by non-*Fellahin* communities in Palestine.

Dressed to impress: performing indigeneity?

> It is impossible to know a race or tribe of people unless you understand them. It is equally impossible to understand those people unless you know them. To know them and to understand them you must live with them. You need not think as they do; nor need you act as they do in all things. At least you must rub shoulders, eat with them, play with them, work with them and even grieve with them if you would have a complete understanding.
>
> — Aref Al Aref, *Bedouin Love, Law and Legend* (1945)[24]

The opening paragraph of Palestinian historian, journalist and politician Aref Al Aref's (1892–1973) book on the lives of the Bedouins in Beersheba immediately touches on the distances between different communities in Palestine during the British Mandate period. The book was an English translation from the Arabic original that had been published some ten years earlier. It had previously been translated into both Hebrew and German, but demand for an English version brought a collaboration with Harold Tilley, the Chief of Staff and News Editor of *The Sun News Pictorial* in Melbourne who had served as the Deputy Assistant Commissioner of the Australian Red Cross during the First World War.[25] Al Aref had spent a significant amount of time living with the Badu (Bedouins) of Beersheba, also serving as the District Officer there for ten years.[26] There is clear fondness and respect in the book for Bedouin life and culture, and yet in the preface, he briefly comments that the Badu are 'a race of people … whose outlook on things material and spiritual, are in marked contrast to those of civilised communities'.[27] The comment gives us an insight into the diversity of cultural and economic spheres of Palestine, demonstrating their difference through moments of the cross overs between *Madani* (madanī; city dwellers), *Fellahin* and *Badu* (Bedouins), similar to Canaan's anthropological research and work amongst the *Fellahin*. And yet, on the final page of the book, there is an image of Al Aref with a number of Bedouin companions each wearing a *'abayya* (cloak) and *kufiyya* and riding on camels.

Cultural crossdressing – that is to say, commissioning a studio portrait wearing 'traditional' clothes – has been extensively analysed as an Orientalist phenomenon

targeting tourists, where photographic studios would offer costumes to wear for one's portrait.[28] However, evidence in family photo collections and archives of the region shows that the phenomenon was widespread in local populations as well – including Arab Palestinians, Armenians and Jewish immigrants.[29] The practice was far from limited to Palestine and examples can be found across the world, including in Europe, as the portrait of Scholten dressed in the traditional clothes of Volendam attests (Figure 4.6). In Palestine, it was typical for more affluent classes to commission such studio portraits either wearing *Fellah* or Bedouin clothing, which were often developed and printed as either postcards, carte de visites or as cabinet cards to be given to friends as a mode of social currency.[30] These commissioned portraits sometimes included gender crossdressing, indicating both a classed humour in transgressing both social milieus and gender, but also the sense of a nationalist youth culture rooting itself to an imagined historical past of the *Fellahin* and *Badu*.[31]

What is more interesting than reading the adoption of such identities by urbane middle and upper classes as a straight-forward case of biblification is to understand it within a broader context the many identity categories of Palestinian society. This includes questions like class, religious difference, gender and socio-economic categories like *Madani*, *Fellah* and *Badu* to understand how 'traditional' costuming was deployed more broadly by local communities.

Aside from biblical perceptions of Europeans, the emergence of the *Fellahin* identity became increasingly important to the ways in which notions of national identity and indigeneity were projected in Palestine, underpinned by a photographic market and tourism industry that actively highlighted the continuity of the biblical past in the present. While the rural sphere continued its agricultural activities, increasingly people sought modern work in cities. Meanwhile, Arab Palestinians and recent Zionist settlers alike adopted rural clothing as part of a youth culture that constructed narratives of national belonging.

Figures such as Faik Tamari (Figure 4.7) appeared in Scholten's photographs many times. Coming from a notable Jaffa family, Tamari is generally imaged as a dapper young man about town. Vignettes of his life are captured by his daughter, the artist Vera Tamari in both her practice as a ceramicist and in a recent book.[32] He appears in photos of Alfred Roch's parties, and his own photographic collection gives us insights into a more expanded bohemian circle of the day.

Hailing from a well-to-do Jaffa family, Faik Tamari's appearance in Scholten's collection gives us insights into the various networks at play in Palestine, as much as the ways in which different social circles interconnected. Vera Tamari

Figure 4.6 *Untitled* [Portrait of Frank Scholten in Volendam dress] (undated).
M. H. Laddé, Amsterdam No Title Album: 01

Figure 4.7 *Untitled* [Faik Tamari (third from left) and friends at a café in Jaffa].
Digitized negative with artist's edits, Jaffa 20: 88

referenced a photo by Scholten, in which her father appears in the fashions of the day, inspired by Egyptian popular culture and figures like Abdul Halim Hafez.[33] The group of fashionable young men in Figure 4.7, with their sharply tailored suits, walking sticks, and the occasional tarboosh (fez) and pocket square, are gathered in that most modern of meeting places: the café. Two wear a black arm band, while at least three glasses of beer had been consumed. Scholten's edit marks further crop the negative on both the left and the right side to focus in on group. Four of the six men, Faik included, look directly at the camera, while the others – including the one second from the left wearing the black arm band – appear to stare into the distance, perhaps distracted by mourning and a sense of disengagement with Scholten and his camera.

The rural sphere was not just filled with *Fellahin*, but also elites, as exemplified by Arab nationalist, orange-growing landowner and bohemian, Alfred Roch and his parties in Chapter 3 (see Figure 3.4). While in many ways typifying a late Ottoman effendi (a learned gentleman), wearing his tailored suit and tarboosh, the adoption of cultural crossdress at parties indicates how identity was projected, in a different mode to Faik Tamari's adoption of Bedouin clothing in cross-communal spaces that I will discuss below.

Figure 4.8 *Untitled* [Faik Tamari (in Bedouin clothing) and Sheikh Shaker Abu Kishk].

Digitized negative with artist's edits, Jaffa 2: 16

Figure 4.9 *Untitled* [Abu Kishk's encampment]

Digitized negative, Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Sarona 8: 92

In his dispatches from Palestine, Jacob Israël de Haan described visiting Bedouin tribes in Beersheba, giving insights into a foreigner's perceptions and distance from the *Badu*:

> Where the grass grows the sluggish camels stand chewing, and they chew again. Large sheep go with their lambs, and the goats also with their young. The shepherds of the tribe appear to be a bunch of beggars. Covered with an incredible combination of rags and rags. And then suddenly a finely worked lambskin. One has his hair braided into two long tails. We give the beggars biscuits and sweets. And of course we ask them about their fathers. They appear to be the sons of sheikhs. They will certainly be happy to show us the way to the tents.[34]

Like Aref Al Aref, Faik Tamari had his own connections to the Badu – in particular, a close friendship Sheikh Shaker Abu Kishk, head of the Abu Kishk tribe north of Jaffa. In Figure 4.8, we see a Scholten portrait of Faik Tamari dressed in Bedouin clothing and photographed with his friend Sheikh Shaker Abu Kishk. Another photo shows the whole group posed together outside of a tent (Figure 4.9). The close relations between Abu Kishk and Tamari are perhaps best exemplified by the grandson of the former being named Faik in honour of the latter.[35] These photos raise the question of whether the Abu Kishk encampment was a meeting place that welcomed the urban middle classes of Jaffa,[36] or whether Scholten might have been invited to visit by Tamari, given how regularly he appears in the collection. In either case, Scholten's portraits of Tamari show how clothing was mobilized as a bridge between different Palestinian communities. This is particularly important in light of the forging of relationships between different cultural spheres to project new, modern nationalist identities at a time when political relations were being remade.

In contrast to the typical studio portraits of cultural crossdressing, Scholten's photographs give us a documentary glimpse into different lived deployments of identity in much more social settings, rather than the controlled space of the photo studio and the process of commissioning a portrait. Analysing Scholten's portraiture through the lens of cultural crossdressing gives us a very different set of insights into what clothing can tell us of identity formation in the social sphere.

While images drawn from family albums demonstrate the uptake of Bedouin or *Fellah* clothing in studio portraiture, images such as Figure 4.10 demonstrate similar preoccupations with identity. On the back of the print of this image is a short note that says, 'trying on a tarbouche' and another that marks it as having been taken in Tel Aviv. Another photo shows the same youth without the

Figure 4.10 *Trying on a tarbouche* [Young man wearing a tarboosh, Tel Aviv].
Box 17: 188

tarboosh and was taken at the same time. A comparison of the two photos shows the humour involved in the boy trying on a tarboosh, with his wide grin at the adoption of a new identity. Other photos from the series show the same youth with others his age, a number of which appear to be in a collective living situation, some even within a dorm room. Some of these are analysed in Chapter 5.

Within an incoming Jewish milieu against the backdrop of the Third Aliyah (wave of Zionist migration), it appears that as much as Arab Palestinian communities sought to forge connections across the diversity of Palestinian society, new migrants also sought to root themselves by performing and creating new identities through wearing certain clothes.

Like studio portraits of cultural crossdressing, Figure 4.10 demonstrates humour in assuming a new identity. It is a source of playful experimentation (exemplified by his smile), but also embedded within the joke is a delimitation of identity. Another question is where the hat came from. Portraits of Scholten, both self-portraits and photos by others, often show him wearing a tarboosh. The appearance of the tarboosh in this context may have been Scholten loaning it to the boy to try on, perhaps indicating some staging on the photographer's part. Certainly, Scholten was often photographed wearing a tarboosh. What is

interesting here is that the tarboosh was fundamentally a symbol of urban society and worn by elites. In part, such an image is also making a claim of class, in a process that could be seen as a mode of power dressing not dissimilar to some of the gendered crossdressing of women as effendi in other photo collections.[37]

Other images by Scholten show similar uptakes of clothing in different contexts. For instance, the woman in a photo of a Jewish couple (Figure 4.11) appears in many of Scholten's photos, and seems to have been friendly with him. In other images, she wears a nurse's uniform at a quarantine station for Jewish migrants, while yet more images of her and her fiancé in the same *thawb* (a Palestinian embroidered dress) contain a handwritten note indicating that it was their engagement party.

Significant questions of cultural appropriation aside, the image of the woman wearing a *thawb* is not simply an Ashkenazi experimenting with embodying some sort of Palestinian Oriental positioning. It is, in a sense, embodying two completely different subject positions within the same Jewish body, asking whether that body fits within the rubrics of indigeneity within identity formation processes of the period. The *thawb* itself is a typology based on the Ramallah designs.[38] While the *thawb* points on one level to an assimilationist attitude, it also denotes the popularization of the *thawb* as a marker of identity – and perhaps a marker of

Figure 4.11 *Untitled* [Woman wearing a *thawb* with fiancé].

Digitized negative, Tel Aviv 9: 90

'authenticity' – at a time when Palestinian girls were actively trained in sewing, needlecraft and embroidery to produce goods for a consumer market, particularly in welfare projects for the souvenir industry.[39] This was a marked departure from the tradition of hand sewing for one's own dress.[40] In this regard, as an image, it underscores amorphous identities that would become actively formalized in the years after this photo was made. The 'honeymoon' context of a new relationship aside, the act of donning the *thawb* may appear to be a simple gesture of trying on new clothing, which certainly has antecedents in Palestinian studio photography, but it belies the complex positioning of Jewish identity within a framework that is at one and the same time part of Europe and also removed from it. This duality is one that had a significant impact for Jews in Europe. As historian Rebekka Grossmann points out, the uneasy positioning of a spectrum of Jewishness in Europe, from ancient and Oriental to modern and European, was not without its consequences in the ways the Ashkenazi communities were remediated in photography from Palestine to the West.[41]

In Figure 4.12, a group of children at school in Tel Aviv are dressed for *Purim*. Costumed for the holiday in *kufiyyas* and *dishdashas* and holding toy weapons, they borrow from biblical tropes, paralleling some of the assumptions of *Fellahin*

Figure 4.12 *Untitled* [Group of children in costume, Tel Aviv].

Digitized negative, Tel Aviv 7: 91

and *Badu* indigeneity outlined earlier. The photograph speaks to the ways in which early Jewish migrants of the Second and Third Aliyah grounded their identities as new Hebrews in Palestine, remaking their Jewishness in opposition to European identity. Yael Zerubavel discusses the concept of the 'Hebrew Bedouin', the Palestinian-born children of Zionist immigrants of the Second Aliyah (1904–1914). She describes the identity formation process in which they embraced 'native' identity and distanced themselves from European notions of the exilic Jew:

> The kafiya, especially the white variety (also known as the hatta) popular among the local Fellahin and Bedouins, and the abbaya (the Arab overcoat), resembled the portrayals of the ancient Hebrews' dress. During the first decades of the Yishuv, putting on the kafiya (and to a lesser degree the abbaya) became an act of displaying a local identity by drawing on ancient and contemporary features of a native culture.[42]

What is unaccounted for in Zerubavel's analysis is how the popular biblical imaging of Palestine shaped perceptions of biblical authenticity in the period.[43] A more detailed account of the role of biblified popular culture – and the link between Christian and Jewish European perceptions of such material – in shaping the identity of the 'New Hebrew' deserves future study. However, the construction of a new Hebrew body had distinct parallels to the construction of a new Zionist culture-in-the-making.[44]

The jostling of identities between different groups of people in Palestine – Arab, Jewish and otherwise – in creating bridges between different spheres of Palestinian society – *Madani*, *Fellah* and *Badu* – certainly demonstrates a dynamic space of change in which multiple groups are mobilizing costumes and clothing in multiple ways that connect them to a perceived 'past'. In many ways, this embodiment of the biblical past has parallels with much of the reconstruction work on religious buildings and tourist infrastructure discussed in Chapter 2. Where the remaking of religious sites was seen as a means of highlighting the biblical past for the economic benefits from tourism, what we see in the assumptions of identity present in Scholten's portraits are multiple communities attempting to connect with their perceived past in a time of growing and heightened nationalisms and their contesting future visions of Palestine.

It is important to note that by the 1930s, the *kufiyya* became a symbol of anti-colonial resistance during the uprising of the Great Revolt (1936–1939). Given the centrality of *Fellahin* fighters against the British, the Arab Higher Committee would demand that all men in cities wear *kufiyyas* (rather than tarbooshes) to help conceal the fighters, adding further political weight to the nationalist understanding of adopting such rural markers.[45]

The Lord Be Between Thee and Me: queer biblical visions and the *Fellahin*

Alongside the photographs that Scholten took himself were the many images he collected. These are typically postcards or images clipped from books or magazines, which he then pasted onto cardboard and annotated with notes about the subject and a short biblical verse. Among this plethora of material are many representations of the biblical figure of David.

Individually, these images appear innocuous, but taken as a collection they accumulate new meanings. Many reproductions of renaissance statuary depicting David are found in the clippings, some by artists known or thought to have had same-sex relations such as Michelangelo, Donatello and Leonardo da Vinci, who embodied a marrying of the homoeroticism of classical antiquity with biblical narrative. From image reproductions of Michelangelo's masterpiece to Jewish-German sculptor Arnold Zadikow's[46] modernist rendition to clippings from religious books and illustrated Bibles, the repeated images of David cut across different eras, art styles, mediums and artists, in a comparative mode. While this underscores a scholarly comparison on an art historical level, it also shares parallels with the methodology Scholten employed to document labour, fraternity and networks of manufacture in Palestine, as discussed in Chapter 5.

The ambiguities of the relationship between David and Jonathan, the son of Saul, were often used to justify homosexual relations. Oscar Wilde referenced their relationship as part of his defence during his infamous trial for homosexuality in 1895,[47] which means that such a narrative would likely be well-known by queers twenty-five years later. Among Scholten's collection is one clipping in the Arts and Crafts styling of George Heywood Sumner's David and his relationship to Jonathan (Figure 4.13). This image points to some interesting British cultural tangents; for instance, parallels to another queer devotee of the Arts and Crafts movement, Charles Robert Ashbee, head of the Pro-Jerusalem Society. Ashbee consistently referred to Jerusalem as the 'City of David', again underscoring the importance of David as a cultural figure generally, but also in queer expatriate circles.[48]

Another famed Dutch queer, the Jewish lawyer, writer and poet Jacob Israël de Haan (Figure 4.14) who wrote the novel *Pijpelijntjes* (1904), discussed in Chapter 1, migrated to Palestine in 1919. *Pijpelijntjes* centred around a gay relationship in the De Pijp, the same suburb in which Scholten kept a room at Adrianus Kakebeen's brothel. Among his writings and political involvements, de Haan wrote poems in quatrains (*kwatrijnen*) in reference to the form of rubaiyat.

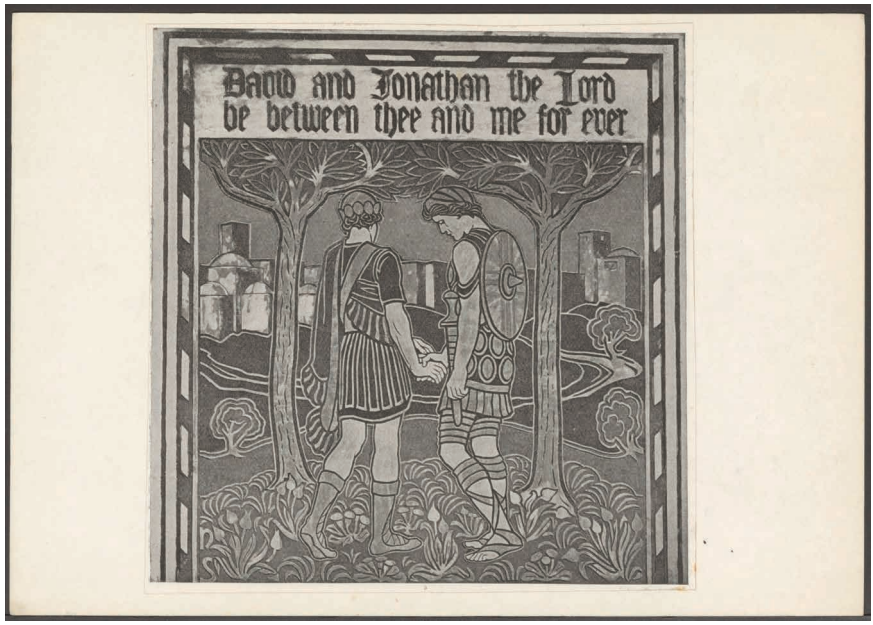


Figure 4.13 *David and Jonathan the Lord be between thee and me for ever* (1891).
George Heywood Sumner, published in 'The Studio', 1891. Collected material 4: 619

Many are highly erotic, collapsing his religious odyssey to Palestine with erotic desire for Arab men.[49] Openly homoerotic poems such as *De jonge herder* [The Young Shepherd] conjure the erotic subtexts of the figure of biblical labour.[50] Some of de Haan's other poems are about his lover Ḥasan, or his relationship with ʿĀdil who was from the well-known Jerusalemite ʿAwayda family, embodying a biblical homoerotic. In de Haan's poem 'Doubt', he poses the dual dialectic between homoeroticism and faith:

> What awaits me in this nightly hour,
> In this City stalked by sleep,
> Seated on the Temple wall:
> God, or the Moroccan lad?[51]

De Haan 'declared himself anxious to work at the rebuilding of Land, People and Language' in a letter to Chaim Weizmann and immigrated to Palestine in 1919.[52] His shift from secular Zionism to involvement as the spokesperson for Rabbi Chaim Sonnenfeld's *Agudat Israel* – an international ultra-Orthodox organization whose perceived pro-Palestinian political sentiments – was met with reproach and lecture boycotts by Zionist organizations. As a result, in

Figure 4.14 *Dhr Israel de Haan à Jéricho (Collection privée)* [Mr Israel de Haan in Jericho (Private collection) – Jacob Israël de Haan (right) and friend outside the Bellevue Hotel, Jericho].

Judea 16 Album: 13

June 1924, de Haan became the first person to be assassinated by the Zionist movement as he was leaving a synagogue, shortly before he was to return to Amsterdam.[53] The assassin confessed to receiving orders from Zionist leaders of the time, including Yitzhak Ben-Zvi. It was also speculated that David Ben Gurion was also involved in the decision-making.[54] De Haan's assassination reflects the fractures within communal groups in Palestine, and the emerging nationalist political persuasions that were coming to define community boundaries.

As appears to be the case with Scholten and many others (see Chapter 5), queer desire crossed communal lines with de Haan. Court records from the period after the British re-criminalized homosexuality in Palestine show that prosecution of same-sex couples, too, often crossed communal lines.[55] Tracing same-sex relations from within local communities is more difficult. Locally, even elites such as Khalil Sakakini, whose memoirs are published in eight volumes, discussed his own same-sex relations with his lover Dāwūd [David], while likening himself to the biblical figure of Jonathan. Sakakini's diary also has a section written in Musa Al Alami's hand reminiscing about a romantic interlude

in the bathtub before Sakakini left to live in the US, as a remembrance between the two.[56] Within the multiplicity of queer milieus in Palestine, numerous examples of the confluence between religious imagery and queer desire seem to have abounded. David, as a figure in various stages of his life, seems to have been utilized in different ways as a mode of queer legitimation, both within expatriate circles and local communities. At least within urban society in Palestine, figures such as David and Jonathan are a consistent reference point for queers in the 'Holy Land'.

The image Scholten took of de Haan in Jericho (Figure 4.14) has a caption that reads 'Dhr De Haan à Jéricho (Collection privée)' [Mr De Haan in Jericho (Private collection)]. This raises the discrepancy between Scholten's discussion of taking 22,000 photographs and the analysis suggesting 17,000 individual images, including those taken in Europe.[57] The fact that Scholten captioned the image of de Haan as part of a private collection may indicate that there were more examples of queer imagery that he felt should not be shared in the donation of his estate to The Netherlands Institute for the Near East. If this is the case, there may be much more information on the queer life of Palestine that has yet to be uncovered in the potential shortfall of images.

To return to Scholten, the figure of David underscores a confluence between labour – biblical or otherwise – to the queer world which he inhabited. From imagery of the young David as a shepherd playing the harp before Saul (Figure 4.15), to later renditions such as *David and his Mighty Men* in scenarios of war (see Chapter 5, Figure 5.13), we see parallels between Scholten's understanding of biblical narrative, the photos he took himself (e.g. Figure 4.1), and an operation of queering that bleeds between the two categories.

Figure 4.15, an image of *David playing the harp before Saul* by Harold Copping published in 1910, recalls the rise of David as a figure summoned to serve Saul. The image re-periodizes the contemporary costuming of the rural *Fellah* shepherd boy, jacket reversed, in Figure 4.1 with other images such as the peasant from Ramallah[58] (Figure 4.16) to the ancient past, in line with biblical photographic tropes. Visually, it relates directly to Scholten's photo of the shepherd boy (Figure 4.1), discussed earlier. Copping's handsome young figure of David recalls many photographic clichés of the shepherd, but it is also an image that was clearly to be found in the rural Palestinian landscape. Scholten's image echoes this trope, but also plays with the youthful figure, albeit without the erotics of other images of David. Interestingly, it has other parallels with the pagan classicism through the animalistic image of a satyr playing cymbals (Figure 4.17), also found in the same group of collected images.

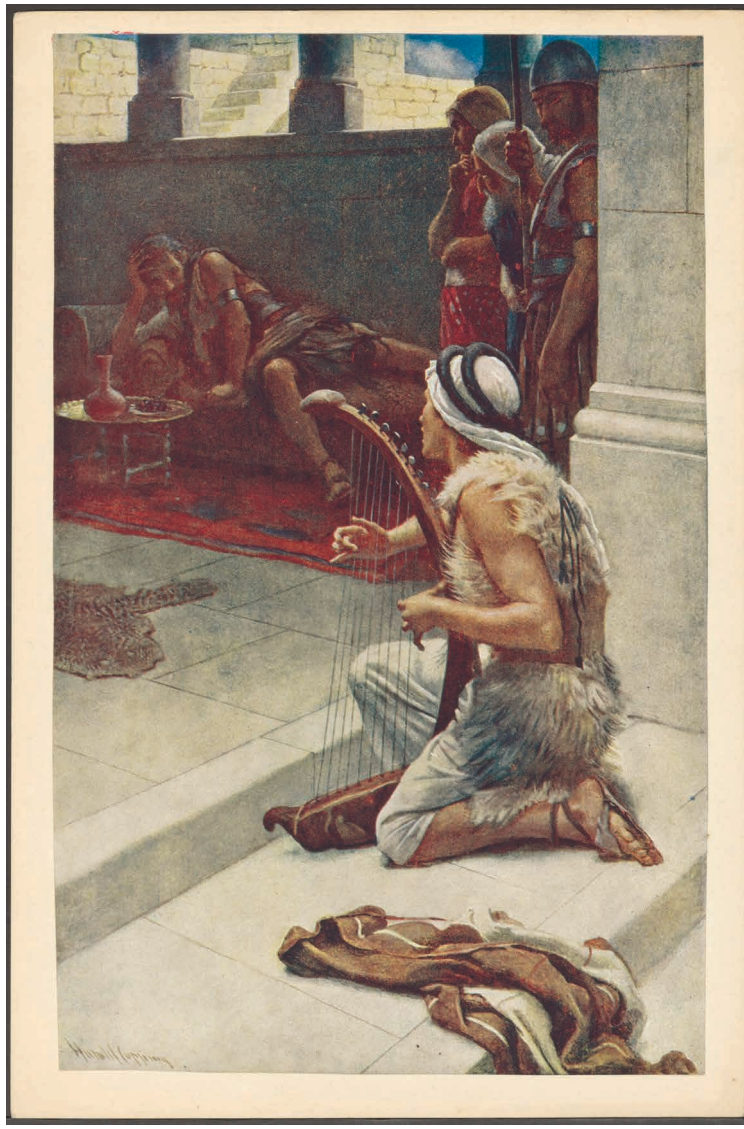


Figure 4.15 *David playing the harp before Saul*, Harold Copping.
1 Samuel 16:23. Collected material 4: 577

Looking at Scholten's photos, there is evidence of queer sexual activity, particularly when read within the context of Dutch court records (see Figures 5.3 and 5.4 in Chapter 5). If we are to take this further, there is also a confluence here between queerness and religious narrative, which we see elsewhere in Scholten's oeuvre. Among other biblical sites, Jaffa is said to have been home

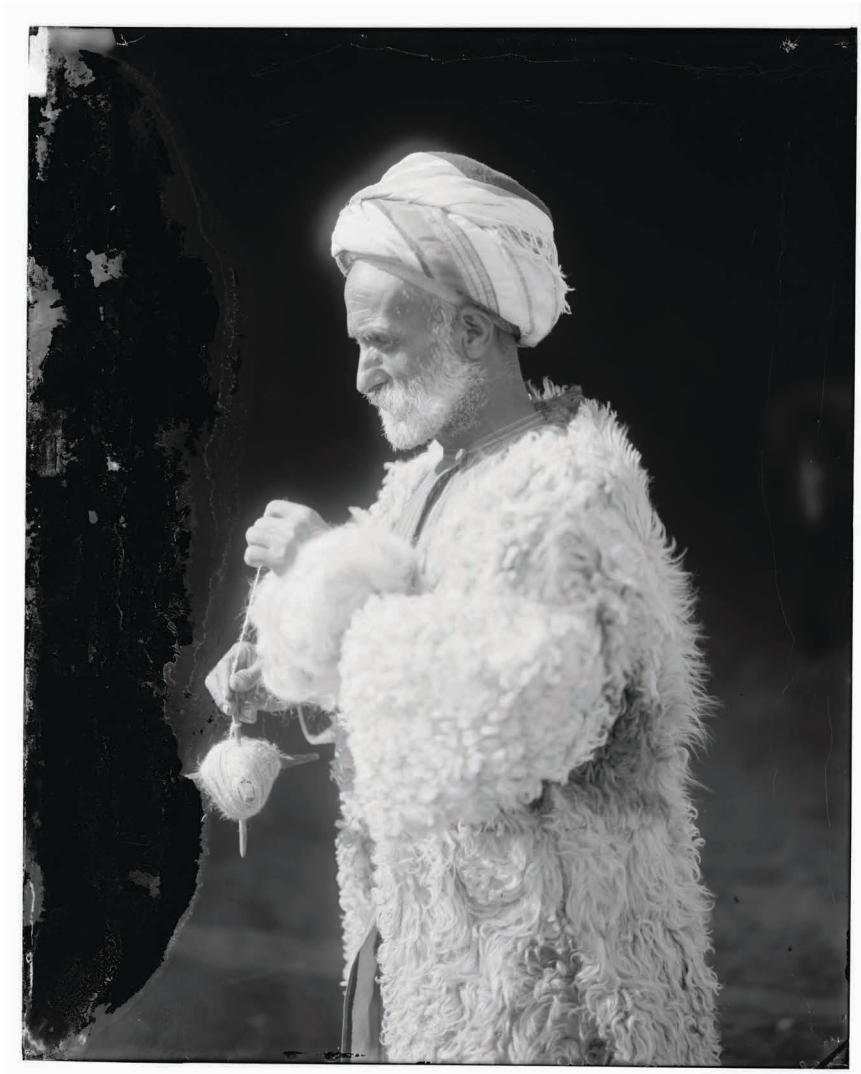


Figure 4.16 *Ramallah Peasant Spinning Wool,* American Colony Photo Department.

LC-DIG-matpc-06865 Image courtesy of the Matson Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Drawings Division

to the House of Simon the Tanner. Scholten's photos of the tannery (discussed at length in Chapter 5) are certainly related to the tale of Simon the Tanner in how Scholten couched them. Moreover, the profession of tanning is a highly visceral occupation, with tanners working with dead animals and urine in the tanning process. This was read in biblical terms as a mode of preaching to Jews and Gentiles alike, which may have appealed to someone already thinking about

Figure 4.17 *Satyre dansant dit le faune aux cymbales* [Dancing satyr called the faun with cymbals].

Collected material 4: 420

questions of communalism and community representation in Palestine, but also reflects a corporeal and carnal mode of thinking about bodies.

Taking the other religious imagery collected by Scholten into account as part of his accumulation of visual culture, homosociality comes to fore. The image of Judas' betrayal, identifying Jesus to the Roman authorities by kissing him on the

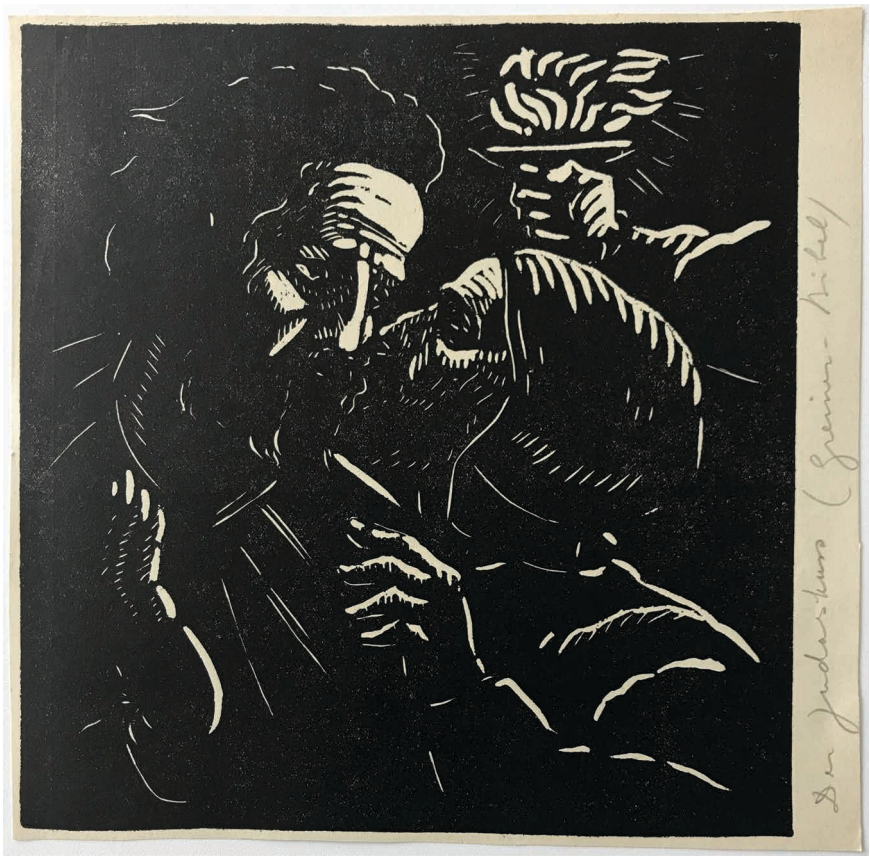


Figure 4.18 *Judas Kissing Jesus*.
Artist unknown. Collected material 4:

cheek in the darkness of the Garden of Gethsemane (Figure 4.18) takes on an unmistakable queer erotic. Compared with more typical renderings, this image depicts the act of betrayal as one suspended by the tension between sexual desire and necessities of Jesus' sacrifice within the Christian New Testament narrative. The stark image recalls cruising as much as the fulfilment of everlasting life when read relationally through the collection. It has similarities with other clippings such as Figure 4.19, which shows the embrace of two men wearing *kufiyyas* and *dishdashes*. The latter has a reference to the Second Book of Samuel (15:5), which recounts how, when people would come to bow to Absalom, he would extend his hand, take hold of them and kiss them.[59] Absalom, the third son of David, would eventually revolt against his father. Again, homoerotics and notions of betrayal are intertwined in the two figures embracing, symbolic of uncomfortable transgressions.

Figure 4.19 *Untitled* [Absalom embracing an Israelite].

'whenever anyone approached him to bow down before him, Absalom would reach out his hand, take hold of him and kiss him' 2 Samuel 15:5. Collected material 4: 142

Scholten's accumulation of religious imagery and his ascription of biblical verses utilize the ambiguities of homosocial religious narratives to infuse them with queer subtexts. This is particularly visible when reading them in relation to one another. In this respect, we can see Scholten reappropriating religious narrative through his practice of collecting such imagery in an act of queering.

Conclusion

In reading the ways in which queerness and religious narratives collide in Scholten's work, we see a conflation of desire with a visuality that borrows heavily from imagery of Palestine's rural sphere. This queering of religious imagery has a parallel with the ways in which *Fellahin* identity was mobilized in making claims of biblical indigeneity by different groups within Palestinian society.

Performing connection to place was not simply an act of identification, but something that goes considerably further in locating, rooting or inserting a diversity of communities – foreign and local alike – into the cultural context of the 'Holy Land'. It implicates the ways in which notions of biblical indigeneity related to the culture of religion through nationalist, ethno-confessional and class paradigms during the late Ottoman and British Mandate era in Palestine.

These performances in their many variations transcend and transgress perceptions of urban – rural as well as social divides between *Madani*, *Fellahin* and *Badu*, marking overlaps and entanglements between different groupings. They also borrow from the authority of the culture of religion in asserting their performances.

Photography, and this collection in particular, is a useful historical source for understanding these identity dynamics and the ways in which they mediated interactions. Read relationally, the photographs of Faik Tamari or the image of Aref Al Aref demonstrate close relations between different communal groupings. They operate in quite different ways to other images, such as the engagement day photo (Figure 4.11) in the relationships they denote. Identity categories like nationalism, religion and ethnicity mark specific cultural processes that aim to indigenize through these social performances, while queered religious imagery reappropriates biblical narrative in a mode that justifies homosexuality. The desire – sexual or otherwise – to root oneself in identities that were seen as ancient and changeless became a means of forming modern subject positions through a putatively ancient religious history.

5

On reading masculinity

The context of biblical indigeneity laid out in the previous chapter has significant implications for the ways in which nationalism – both Arab Palestinian and Zionist – was performed and read through a biblical lens. This chapter will focus on analysing the role of masculinity, its relationship to the performance of nationalism and the ways in which Scholten's queer lens – and his desire for working men – framed men's bodies in his photographic project within the context of the establishment of the British Mandate.

Labour and its associated networks were a particular area to which Scholten and his camera were drawn. In part, this can be explained by his interest in capturing the modern life of Palestine, as evidenced by his London exhibition of 1924 'Palestine in Transition' (discussed in Chapter 1). Certainly, his work often considered the networks of labour involved in manufacture or agriculture, tracing them through many stages of production. We see multiple examples of a methodology dedicated to understanding the networks involved in production. For example, his documentation of orange growing depicted the labourers and businesses owners associated with the industry and the labours of wrapping, packing and shipping from the port of Jaffa, as discussed in Chapter 3. Scholten repeated this methodology when he documented other industries in Palestine, including tobacco and cigarette making, cotton and fabric production, leather tanning, as well as new industries including electricity and ice companies. These have parallels with his camera studies of other service-based industries such as those related to tourism, pilgrimage and the boom in church building and archaeology, discussed in Chapter 2. Indeed, the homosocial nature of many of the spaces and forms of work documented by Scholten is interesting in that they mirror some of the social spaces Scholten inhabited as a queer in Europe, for example his solicitation of military men on trains or in their work clothes elsewhere, as outlined in Chapter 1. In a photographic collection where men are overrepresented (see Chapter 3) there is a gendered bias in the collection.[1] This

is unlikely to have been a conscious decision, but it is a bias nonetheless, whether related to men's participation in public space or Scholten's particular perspective. While images of women – and even some of women at work – are clearly present in the collection, this bias towards photographing men in a project that aimed at broad religious and national representation has particular implications for understanding the performance of masculinity through labour and one that is shaped by Scholten's desire and queer lens.

Given Scholten's desire for working men, his lens – and its associations with methodologies of visual anthropology – traced men's bodies and men's labour (Arab, Jewish, and others beside) in many of Palestine's industries. The resulting collections tell a story of performances of masculinity in a context of increasing nationalism. From men in Zionist cement factories to Arab Palestinian tanneries in Jaffa to foreign troops maintaining colonial order, Scholten offers a modern survey of work and the men who undertook that labour.

This chapter will focus on three primary sites of labour and nation-building. Firstly, it will examine Arab-Palestinian factory workers in both modern and ancient manufacturing establishments to consider both the continuity of ancient traditions and how modern mechanization impacted on the performance of masculinity in Scholten's photos. Secondly, it will consider the framing of military personnel in the years after the war, particularly foreign forces in Palestine, in view of both Scholten's own past in Amsterdam and the homosocial nature of military culture. This will then be contextualized within his queer biblical framing. Thirdly, it will consider Scholten's photos of Zionist masculinities during the Third Aliyah (wave of Zionist migration to Palestine), which saw the establishment of Zionist labour unions like the *Histradut* and the process of remaking and muscularization of the 'New Hebrew' body. It will consider this within a transnational paradigm and changing European attitudes the body.

Biblical labour, desire and Simon the Tanner

While Jaffa had undergone a project of modernist revitalization like other Palestinian cities as a result of the Ottoman Tanzimat Reforms, it was nonetheless the main port of entry to the country, with the ebbs and flows of both people and goods and the sorts of entertainments that one might expect with mobile work forces. The ancient city enjoyed the modern comforts of new bourgeois suburbs[2] expanding from the Old City which had been walled until the late nineteenth

Figure 5.1 *Femmes publiques arabes, fumant le narguileh* (16 August 1918), Paul Castelnau.

A15831 Image courtesy of the Albert Kahn Museum

century. Certainly, images like 'Femmes publiques arabes, fumant le narguileh' (Figure 5.1) by Paul Castelnau show photographs of female sex workers outside one of Jaffa's bordellos, reflecting a very different aspect of the Mediterranean port city from the modes of urban respectability in Scholten's photographs, discussed in Chapter 3.

Figure 5.2 *Untitled* [Worker in a modern factory in Jaffa].
Digitized negative, Jaffa 18: 05

Images of modern labour in Arab-Palestinian communities such as the one in Figure 5.2, or the series on the *Filastin* newspaper that has been discussed in Chapter 3, demonstrate how Scholten's oeuvre elaborated on labour through biblical continuity. This echoes the implications of the trope of 'Holy peasants' discussed in Chapter 4. Imagery of the *Fellahin* not only embodied a performance of biblical indigeneity, but also had implications for Scholten's imaging of labour both in the urban and rural sphere. In considering the context of this, the photos Scholten produced and his interests in the bodies of other men became conflated with the evidentiary photographic traces that valorize biblical narrative. How then do we understand the context of a queer biblical erotic as it relates to labour? The overlap of labour as part of Scholten's scholarly approach to understanding Palestinian modernity and his own documented sexual desires creates an interesting tension in some of the images he produced, as much as those that he collected, for instance the images of David discussed in Chapter 4.

The fourth section of the first chapter in Volume I of Scholten's *Palestine Illustrated* is dedicated to The House of Simon the Tanner.[3] According to biblical tradition, Peter the Apostle stayed with Simon the Tanner in Jaffa during his early missionary activities. The section starts with a number of Scholten's images of Jaffa's Old City and includes quotes from Acts 10 that detail Peter's visit, and

also God's removal of dietary restrictions.[4] The visceral nature of tanning as a profession is linked to God's easing of kosher regulation within the chapter of the Book of Acts, as will be discussed below.

While only a handful of the much larger photo series are presented by Scholten in his published works, examining the unpublished images within the context of the published ones yields useful details for analysis. For instance, Scholten's volume shifts from addressing imagery of Jaffa's Old City to the modern tanners of Jaffa. One of the ascriptions to an image of the tannery and its vats is drawn from Derekh Eretz Rabbah, a minor tractate of the Talmud. Scholten quotes it directly in his volume:

> Think of a big place in the centre of which the vat of a tanner is placed: so is a handsome and respected man who lets unbecoming words pass his lips.[5]

The passage deals with ethics and questions of respectability, conjured through a profession that deals with the hides of dead animals. Taken in conjunction with what is documented in Dutch legal records about Scholten's sexual desires (see Chapter 1), new meanings are generated about both the workers shown in the book and the surplus photos Scholten never published. It also conjures the different social spheres of Jaffa from 'respectable society' to the underground or marginal.

This brief quotation also creates a binary around beauty (a handsome and respected man) and the pollution of the tanner's vat and unbecoming words, language and behaviour. This may be reflexive of Scholten's conversion to Catholicism, given more liberal Catholic thoughts on sexuality in the period. For instance, André Rafflovich's *Uranism et Unisexualité* of 1896 argued that same-sex desire had given rise to much of Western high culture, making the *invert*[6] the ideal priest. Invoking Platonic ideals, he argued that occasional sexual lapses were sins, but not grievous errors.[7] Scholten's invocation of Derekh Eretz Rabbah in light of other photos hints at some of the hidden queer subtexts of some of the unpublished photographs.

Two such prescient photos hint at the ways in which Scholten may have interacted within that space. Each are from the much larger series shot at the leather tanning factory. These two images are taken at the same time, given the similar scene and angle, show a series of hides placed on the floor, a small pile of plates and a tarboosh (mostly likely Scholten's), with eggs placed on them beside the make shift bed of hides. A modern shirt and suit jacket are neatly laid over a chair behind the makeshift bed. The scene is replicated twice, once with a worker reclining in a semi odalisque pose on the bed, and another without him, just the wrinkles of where a body or bodies had lain (Figures 5.3 and 5.4).

Figure 5.3 *Untitled* [Makeshift bed in a tanning factory in Jaffa].
Digitized negative, Jaffa 6: 25

Figure 5.4 *Untitled* [Worker on a makeshift bed in a tanning factory in Jaffa].
Digitized negative, Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Sarona 9: 55

Such an image pairing has consequences for the ways in which we might understand Scholten's approach to imaging labour. The discarded modern clothes are likely to be Scholten's, as is the tarboosh on which an egg is placed. If the clothes are not his, then they are certainly someone else's, suggesting that someone in the factory is undressed. While we cannot directly conclude that a sexual liaison has taken place involving the worker posing on his side on the makeshift bed, there is clearly an air of comfort between photographer and photographed. The tanner looks directly into the camera, demonstrating the connection between the two. Likewise, the tanner wears his stained *sirwāl* (Ottoman balloon pants) and over shirt, in other words: dressed similarly to how Scholten had asked men he had solicited to dress at Kakebeen's establishments, such as Dirk Oostindie.[8] These images would hint that Scholten continued to have affairs (paid or unpaid) with working men in Palestine. The local legal framework would certainly have been more conducive than in the Netherlands, which had been tightening legislation with article 248bis. In 1911, the Netherlands had introduced a raft of laws around public decency under Abraham Kuyper's Anti-Revolutionary Party successor, Theo de Meester.[9] There is strong, if circumstantial, evidence of sexual activity in such a scene when these photographs are read in conjunction with details from the court records discussed in Chapter 1. If we are to take this further, there is also a confluence here between queerness and religious narrative, which we see elsewhere in Scholten's oeuvre.

The photos Scholten took of the tannery are related to the tale of Simon the Tanner in how Scholten presented them in *Palestine Illustrated*, with several direct biblical references made in his publications.[10] The biblical narrative of Simon the Tanner has commonly been used as the theological justification for lifting kosher regulations in Christianity through the preaching to Jews and Gentiles alike.[11] This may have appealed to someone like Scholten who was already thinking about questions of communalism and community representation in Palestine,[12] but also reflects a corporeal and carnal mode of thinking about bodies.

The imagery related to the tannery also contains other photos that are relevant to such discussions. For instance, figures 58, 59 and 60 of *Palestine Illustrated Vol. I* (Figures 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7 here) show other workers with bare legs plying their trade, or pausing to eat, still dressed in their work clothes. Figure 5.7 has a quote from Acts 10:10, which describes Peter's hunger before falling into a trance. The vision he received from God while in this state removed the restrictions on food, to enable people to eat as they chose. Scholten annotates this as: 'And being hungry, (*) he (Peter) was desirous to taste *somewhat* … And as they were preparing … ' Unlike most English translations of the

Figure 5.5 *If a tanner takes skins to prepare them.…*

T.B., B.K. x G XXII, p. 277. CF "… to deliver skins to a … tanner". T.B., Sab. I, M 8, p. 39 (De S).
Digitized negative from *Palestine Illustrated Vol I*, fig. 58. Porte Entrée 051–100: 05

Figure 5.6 *Tanning begins from the moment the working-apron is tied around the shoulders.*

T.B., Sab I, G II, p. 14.

Digitized negative from *Palestine Illustrated Vol I*, fig. 59. Porte Entrée 051–100: 04

passage, which vary along the lines of 'wanted something to eat,' the passage is left open by the insertion of an italicized '*somewhat*' between the desirous taste and the clause on preparation that is left with an elongated ellipsis, opening the quotation to other interpretations and innuendo.

In reading Figures 5.3 and 5.4 that were not published in conjunction with the broader context of the section on Simon the Tanner in Scholten's published work, we see a confluence of hunger and desire mediated by the figure of the tanner. The fact that the images were not published perhaps hints at a reticence around disclosure on Scholten's part, perhaps not without good reason given his legal predicaments in the Netherlands.

Read with the evidence of potential sexual liaisons in the factory, hunger and desire for varieties of foods begins to weave an allegory of desire and yearning and corporeal corruption in Scholten's encounter at the tannery. Certainly, this evidence has a resonance with the eroticization of the biblical figure of David and his companion Jonathan (see below for further details), or the erotic quatrains of de Haan discussed in Chapter 4. It also has parallels to the theological discussions of sodomy in the letter written to the Dutch Police Commissioner in 1910. Scholten's framing of the photos from the tannery indicate a particularized queer subtext that has broader implications in terms of his own personal desire and religious outlook.

Figure 5.7 *A tanner's meal.*

CF: "And being hungry, (*) he (Peter) was desirous to taste somewhat… And as they were preparing…." Digitized negative from *Palestine Illustrated Vol I*, fig. 60. Porte Entrée 051–100: 03

Figure 5.8a and 5.8b Left: *Motor study*, and Right: *Tommies*
Jerusalem 2 Album: 33

A brotherhood of man: queering the military through David

The proliferation of military troops in Scholten's photographs is another example of his interest in homosocial men's spaces. Amongst images of Gurkhas (see Figure 3.12), British, American and French troops, there are also images of various scout troops – both in cities as well as camping in the Jordan Valley. As well as these there are images from religious educational institutions, such as a group visiting from Al Azhar University in Cairo[13] and some of the factories and workplaces discussed above.

These homosocial spaces were not foreign to Scholten as a former army officer, but they do offer glimpses into the wide-ranging milieus between which he traversed. Scholten's *Jerusalem II* Album in the photographic archive contains several images of servicemen including two titled 'Motor study' and 'Tommies' (Figures 5.8a and 5.8b). In the first, we see two men on a motorbike, one of whom rests his hand on the other's shoulder. The men appear to be at a military

encampment in the aftermath of the First World War, demonstrating at least some social intimacy with Scholten in allowing him into a secure space.[14] The second shows three 'Tommies', a colloquialism for Privates in the British Army, having their photo taken on a leisurely day in Jerusalem in front of the Montefiore Windmill. Their shirts are unbuttoned low, and the man in the centre drapes his arms casually around the necks of his two friends.

A few pages later in the same album are images across two pages with the title strung together 'American sailors looking at the Mount of Olives' (Figures 5.9a and 5.9b). In their navy uniforms, the sailors – not dissimilar to the Swedish sailors at Amsterdam (Figure 1.7) – are by a section of the Old City, most likely near the Dome of the Rock, in a group outing on what appears to be a day off. The second photo, taken a few minutes later, has several people from the same group standing on the Old City's walls and looking out toward the Mount of Olives.

There is none of the overt flirtation of the Swedish sailors at Amsterdam Centraal station in the photos of troops in Palestine. Nonetheless, these photos are of various military men who, as is known from the court records discussed

Figures 5.9a and 5.9b *American sailors looking at the Mount of Olives.*
Jerusalem 2 Album: 38

in Chapter 1, were an ongoing object of desire for Scholten.[15] The Tommies in particular, with their open shirts and arms dangled around one another, display a level of intimacy. This has parallels with some of the photos of French sailors, particularly Figure 5.10, taken in Bethlehem.

There is a growing wealth of literature on homosexuality in Western militaries of the period.[16] An incident in the United States in 1919 at the Newport Naval Training Station in Rhode Island gives some useful insights into understanding gender and sexuality in the military settings of the period. A squad of young, enlisted men were sent undercover into queer communities to investigate the 'immoral conditions'. Historian George Chauncey's analysis of the material from the operation shows a plethora of enlisted men's sexual preferences, from the effeminization of receptive sexual partners who sometimes wore make up and women's clothes known as 'queers', 'pogues' or 'fairies', to active partners or 'husbands' whose sexuality was more ambiguous, and for whom it was not uncommon to also to be in heterosexual relationships.[17] Chauncey underlines that many witnesses at the resulting inquiry indicated they had at least heard

of 'fairies' before joining the service, but military mobilization placed such men in a homosocial environment thereby increasing the chances that they would encounter what we would term today queer-identifying men and thus enabling the exploration of new sexual possibilities.[18] What is even more interesting than the porous boundaries of men's sexual identity documented by Chauncey is the life outside the inner of circle of 'queers' and 'husbands' in the military: a world of 'straight' men. Within the latter were some straight men – who were known as 'trade' – who would sleep with 'queers'. In Newport, sailors in the former category would be invited to shows or dinner, given small gifts, or even stay overnight with 'queer' men while on leave, in exchange for sex.[19] This fell short of the prostitution that is so well documented in the Dutch context of Scholten's world and Kakebeen's establishments, but also has distinct parallels in terms of material gain in working men's lives within classed context.

In Palestine, a court case from 1943 speaks of Abdalla, a male prostitute and pimp who ran an establishment in Acre. He also employed two Arab and two Jewish women. Court records and their analysis have shown that English soldiers, a Greek and an Arab soldier, as well as two non-military Arab clients visited Abdalla's establishment during raids and investigations

Figure 5.10 *Untitled* [French navy men].
Digitized negative, Betlehem 1: 08

on 19 and 20 April 1943. Abdalla pleaded guilty to permitting men to have a carnal knowledge of him, describing the ways he would dress as a woman for his clientele.[20] The context of sex and military personnel appears to have operated in both directions financially within this transnational complexity. That is to say, military men in Newport gained materially from sleeping with queer men with accommodation or gifts, while in the case of Abdalla's establishment there were clearly also military men who were willing to pay for sexual services. This creates a blurred lines of understanding around male military sexuality and the relationships between client and worker.

Scholten provides several images of the military base at Ṣarafand (Figure 5.11), one of the largest during the British Mandate period. By the early 1920s when Scholten had arrived in Palestine, the country was in a process of shifting from military law under Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA) to new civil regulations with the onset of the Mandate. Nonetheless, to take a camera into a military facility and make photographs within it might easily have been perceived as espionage in such a politically sensitive period. Certainly, the overlaps between photography, scholarship and espionage had been a significant feature of the decades preceding Scholten's arrival. This included documented

Figure 5.11 *Untitled* [Nissan huts at the Ṣarafand military base].
Digitized negative, Varia no title 5: 57

cases of spying and surveying under the rubric of scholarly research by the Palestine Exploration Fund prior to the First World War and Antonin Jaussen of École Biblique during the war, but there are also rumours about the Elia Photo Service in Jerusalem during the British Mandate period.[21] Scholten's entry into the base and his photos of it suggests he was either unaware or unconcerned about being perceived as a spy. His presence – and perhaps that of other visitors – appears to have been seen as normalized within the social life of the military base. Spending time at a military base invites certain questions to be asked about what pre-empted Scholten's visit and the interactions he had there. While no direct evidence of sexual activity can be detected in the photographs or other sources, certainly the Dutch legal records would suggest at least a sense of desire on Scholten's part.

What is interesting about the Newport Naval Training Station case of 1919 is that a prominent Episcopal clergyman Samuel Kent and a YMCA volunteer and churchman Arthur Leslie Green were both named as homosexuals by the navy's inquiry. Both were acquitted, but not before the Church went on the offensive against the navy for its method of entrapping innocent civilians. Many ministers feared they could be accused of perversion and moreover that the non-sexual homosocial Christian brotherhood – which was used to explain Kent and

Green's devotion to other men – was being questioned by the navy.[22] The pitting of Christian brotherhood against same-sex sexual activity created two vastly different views of the same homosocial spaces that overlapped at Newport, and likely overlapped in other places. Certainly, notions of brotherhood had biblical antecedents as much as they may have provided opportunities for homosexual encounters in the homosocial military realm that the navy inquiry uncovered.

Scholten's photographs of military men and spaces become all the more interesting when they are cross-referenced with images that he collected and contextualized within biblical narrative. Among the works relating to the figure of David collected by Scholten (see Chapters 3 and 4), many of them deal with David's battles. The best known is that of David and Goliath, for which Scholten collected at least sixteen renditions of the famous biblical event. David is repeatedly imaged as smaller than Goliath, in line with the biblical tradition. Certainly, Scholten's letter sent from Hirschfeld's address to the Dutch Police Commissioner (see Chapter 1) mentions the 'Herculean figure' of the men with whom he slept in his defence against at the raiding of his father's house at Amstel 222 in Amsterdam.[23]

Figure 5.12 is a rendition of David and Goliath by British illustrator Arthur Dixon. A young and effeminate David with long blonde hair and rosy cheeks on otherwise milk white skin holds an oversized sword with one foot on the neck of the dead Goliath, lying like a fallen beast on the ground. David wears a version of the *Fellah's dishdasha* with *kufiyya* and *'agāl* – a representation embodying a performance of biblical indigeneity as discussed in Chapter 4 – as he stares down at Goliath's body.

The depiction of the two figures plays into paradigms and clichés of gender between the effeminate David and the defeated though hyper-masculine Goliath. Their colourings also suggest a racialization of the pair. Of the many renditions of the event collected by Scholten, Arthur Dixon's illustration is the most accentuated of the gendered representations, though all to some degree play with these gendered binaries. Reading the image within the military aspect of Scholten's social milieu visually recalls some of the Newport navy inquiry, in particular the effeminate queer's ability to defeat and disrupt hegemonic masculinity. The verse that Scholten ascribes to this image is 1 Samuel 17:51, which speaks of the moment that David stands over Goliath to behead him. The wider chapter deals with the incident when the young David came to prominence through the battle with the Philistines.[24]

In the biblical story, David killing Goliath was the beginning of a chain of events between the young shepherd David, King Saul and Saul's son Jonathan.

Figure 5.12 *David defeats Goliath*, Arthur Dixon.

1 Samuel 17:51 … il let tue [… he kills him].
Collected material 4: 576

The beginning of the next chapter in the Book of Samuel begins: 'After David had finished talking with Saul, Jonathan became one in spirit with David, and he loved him as himself'.[25] It sets out the growing jealousy of Saul toward David, the fraternity between Jonathan and David, and David eventually marrying Saul's daughter – Jonathan's sister – Michal. It also contextualizes the sarcastic quip about Saul's lack of leadership as king that Scholten made in reference to the photo 'The band playing "God save the king"' (Figure 3.1) discussed in Chapter

3. The aspect of brotherly love between David and Jonathan has been explored at length in Chapter 4 from the perspective of popular queer deployments both in Europe and Palestine in the early twentieth century. Reading these biblical notions of brotherhood in the many military victories David had over the Philistines also has parallels to the unstable conditions of the early years after the war in which the British Mandate was being solidified over Palestine.

Saul's dealings with David in the tale are far from admirable; he is riven with jealousy over David's military victories against the Philistines. In a biblical passage, the people chanted: 'Saul has killed thousands, David tens of thousands,' causing Saul to become even more jealous of David.[26] Saul would not wed his first daughter to David despite his promise to do so after the slaying of Goliath.[27] Later, Saul used his second daughter, Michal, to attempt to lure David to his death in another battle with the Philistines. After David's victory, Saul's price for marriage to his daughter Michal was one hundred of the fallen Philistines' foreskins.[28] David took his men with him and returned with two hundred foreskins.[29] The phallocentrism of the image of collecting the foreskins of fallen Philistines is notable within a homoerotic reading. These biblical jealousies and competition for power also speak to the political tensions of the early 1920s: British colonialism, the growth of Zionism and Arab nationalism, each with their competing visions of the land and its future.

In the next chapter of the Book of Samuel, Saul continues in his jealousy, attempting to convince Jonathan to kill David, but Jonathan refuses, instead warning David about the plot. Michal and Jonathan collude to help David escape his vengeful father-in-law.[30] Again, the brotherhood – sexual or otherwise – between David and Jonathan is underlined in Jonathan's love for David through the act of warning him of his father's plot. Both Saul and Jonathan die in battle at the end of the First Book of Samuel.[31] David's sorrow is captured in a lament:

> How the mighty have fallen in battle!
> Jonathan lies slain on your heights.
> I grieve for you, Jonathan my brother;
> you were very dear to me.
> Your love for me was wonderful,
> more wonderful than that of women.[32]

With these lines, it is clear how queers, whether Scholten, Oscar Wilde, or Charles Ashbee had ongoing fascinations with David as a biblical figure. The boundary between platonic homosocial love and queer desire is very ambiguous. But the incident is far from the only instance that underlines the blurry boundaries

Scholten draws around military spaces. On an image by Harold Copping of 'David's Three Mighty Men' (Figure 5.13) Scholten ascribed a verse from the Second Book of Samuel. This book deals with King David's reign, after his social ascent from being a humble shepherd. The passage deals with a moment when David and his

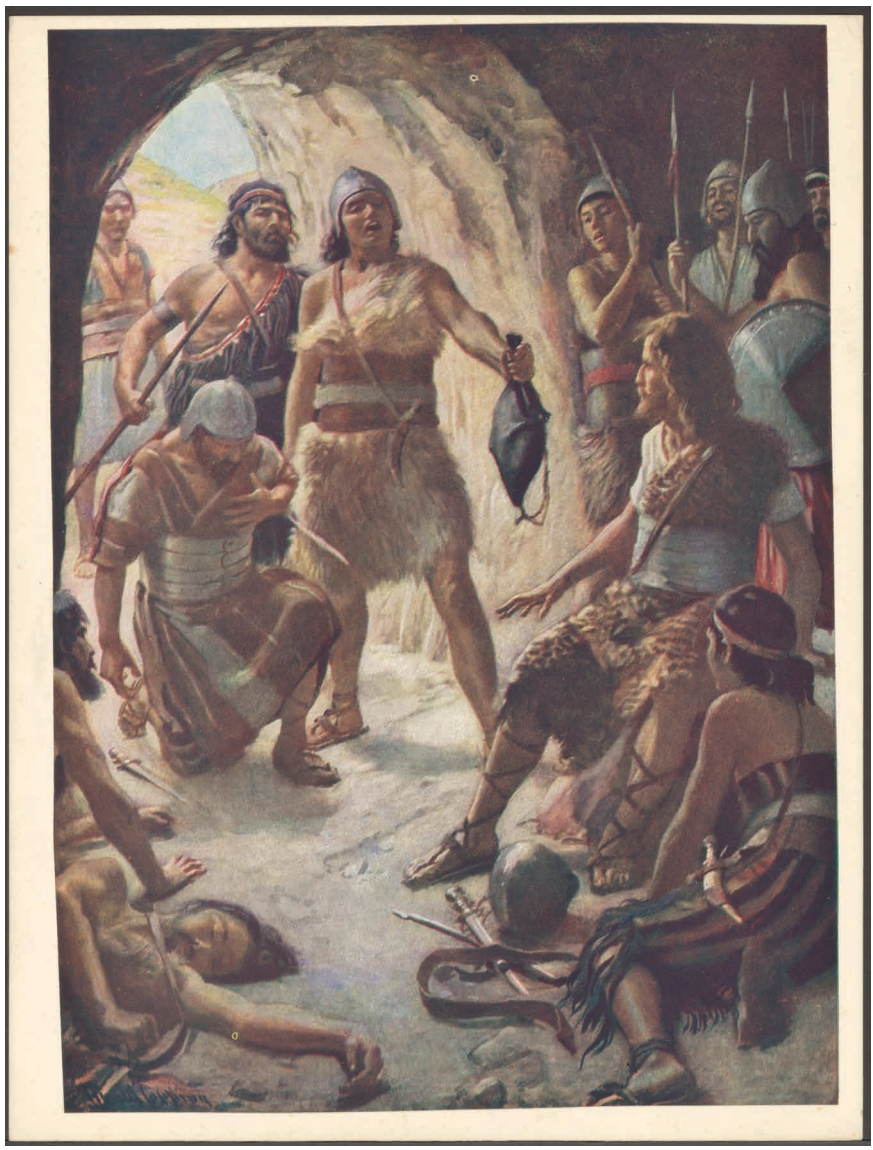


Figure 5.13 *David's Three Mighty Men*, Harold Copping.

2 Samuel 23:16 mais il ne voulait pas le boire [but he didn't want to drink it].
Collected material 4: 477

elite force of troops, including the three mighty men Josheb-Basshebeth, Eleazar son of Dodai, Shammah son of Agee and a group of thirty others were entrapped by a Philistine garrison. David became thirsty. His three mighty men broke through the Philistine lines to fetch water from the well in Bethlehem. When they returned, David refused to drink the water, seeing it as stained by the blood of the men who were sent to fetch it.[33] The incident once again references brotherhood, brotherly love and support, this time with respect to fraternal responsibility within military spaces. This chapter is the second last in the book. The conjuring of thirst might be seen as operating in the same vein as the conjuring of hunger/desire in the discussion of Simon the Tanner, but here in the obverse, to reinforce the importance of fidelity, sexual or otherwise.

Jewish labour and building the nation

In 1927, Vladimir Jabotinsky (1880–1940), the leader of the right-wing Zionist Revisionist movement, published his book titled *Samson the Nazarite*.[34] In it, he portrays the Philistines as both a model of national pride and sexual vitality. Historian David Biale describes a passage from it:

> [A] Philistine ceremony in which the Philistine women are provocatively bare-breasted, their nudity a sign of their vigor. Samson, who is revealed at the end to be the son of an Israelite mother and a Philistine father, serves as the bridge between the still-stunted Israelites and the virile Philistines. His intermarriage with Philistine women represents Israel breaking the chains of sexual bondage in favor of a new, liberated national life.[35]

The remaking of Jewish masculinity in the early twentieth century has had a wealth of attention, from literary scholarship[36] to the muscularization of the new Hebrew body,[37] to more recent studies on Jewish homosexuality during the British Mandate period.[38] The questions raised around the context of dress and costuming in Chapter 4 take on new meanings when understood within the broader framework of sex, sexuality and the transformations of the Jewish body in the *Yishuv*.

Magnus Hirschfeld, the German-Jewish psychiatrist and father of sexology with whom Scholten stayed before the war, travelled to Palestine in 1932. He contrasted the lively boys and girls enjoying the beach at Tel Aviv with the 'sobbing Hasidic youths along the Wailing Wall of Jerusalem' in a mode of religious ecstasy that he saw as sublimating other desires.[39] The binary of the modern free bodies of Tel Aviv with the religious sexual repression of

Jerusalem implicitly proposed a spectrum of Jewish life in Palestine during the Mandate period. Scholten's photographs do correlate to some degree with Hirschfeld's comments. For instance, photographs of Jewish communities in the *Jerusalem I* Album largely show religious life, *yeshivas*, and people in various acts of faith and many from Sephardic communities,[40] while many of the photos of Jaffa and Tel Aviv revolve around the legibly modern ways of living in the cities of the coast and new Zionist settlements.

As much as the beach was a source of modern middle-class leisure,[41] the coast was also a place of labour, as previously discussed in Chapter 3. In Figure 5.14, the two comingle with pieces of lumber being brought in from the sea by horse and cart. While the figure on the left of the foreground sports a fashionable swimsuit of the era, two naked men survey the work being undertaken, while a third stands upon the cart. Decoding ethnic or religious markers in this photo is difficult, especially with the original negative put into an envelope by Scholten ambiguously labelled 'Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Sarona 8'. It does, however, hint at the ways in which Scholten viewed 'Greater Jaffa', an ecosystem that included Tel Aviv as a Zionist settlement and Sarona as a German Templer one. However, what is prevalent in the photo is the relationship that the body has with both work and leisure at the shore.

Figure 5.14 *Untitled* [Work and leisure at the beach].

Digitized negative, Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Sarona 8: 01

The theme of searching for brotherhood and friendship is central to literature of young Jewish male immigrants to Palestine in the early Mandate period. It is also documented in diaries and memoirs such as Matan Boord's analyses through the prism of non-sexual notions of male brotherhood, labour Zionism and men's sexual relationships with women.[42] Each of the men whose diaries he analyses migrated to Palestine in the first half of the 1920s and worked in fields like agricultural or construction labour. Certainly, loneliness was a common theme both socially and romantically, and the low-paid nature of menial labour appears to have been a factor in the feelings of failure and isolation from women.[43] In *Eros and the Jews*, David Biale argues that migration to Palestine by early Zionists represented a rejection of both the suffocating traditions of the Jewish Diaspora and its bourgeois sensibilities.[44] He argues that while sexual liberation was thought necessary as part of the Zionist revolt against the bourgeois assimilationist culture of the Diaspora, it was also not a means of individual fulfilment. Instead, family life and erotic relations needed to be sacrificed for the fulfilment of the national goals. The sublimation of sexual desire in service of the nation was a common theme of the Second and Third Aliyahs (1903–1914 and 1918–1924 respectively) and expressed by the idea that the *halutzim* [Jewish settlers] were creating a national family in which all were brothers and sisters.[45]

Scholten's queer perspective offers an insight into young men's relations both to each other and to their bodies. Figure 5.15 shows a pair of young men, naked and peering around from behind trilingual warning signs in Arabic, Hebrew and English about dangerous currents at the beach. This cheeky photograph plays with notions of the moral dangers of socializing at the beach,[46] but it also raises the question of what the interactions around the making of such a photo might have been and whether Scholten prompted his sitters.

It is impossible to tell whether the staging here was of Scholten's making or that of his subjects, though it has all the hallmarks of the photographer's wry humour. However, the proposed sexual liberation of labour Zionists actively mobilized nudity as a means of lessening sexual stimulation. This was done from an early age, for instance through communal coeducational showers, which in some settlements lasted into high school.[47] While there is nudity of both Arab men and women in other of Scholten's photos, they are – young children swimming aside – generally in the context of labour or child rearing.[48] The naïve, playful and slightly erotic vision of the young men's bodies peering out from behind the sign embodying the moral debates of the moment is presented here in the context of modern leisure, but is also a trope repeated elsewhere in the collection (see Figure 5.16).

Figure 5.15 *Untitled* [Young men at the beach in Tel Aviv].

Digitized negative, Tel Aviv 14: 75

Figure 5.16 *Untitled* [Group of men at Tel Aviv beach].

Digitized negative, Tel Aviv 14: 78

The Hebrew sign in this image strictly prohibits bathing in the sea without appropriate clothing. This and the previous image come from the same envelope of negatives containing a total of 101 images. Most of these images are of people, including many at work, at home and doing sports. In comparing Figures 5.15 and 5.16, the two young men from the former are wearing swimwear and joined by seven slightly older men wearing shorts or pants. It is likely that the two images were taken at a similar time and place. What is interesting about the second photo is the ways in which it opens a continuity of the visual discussions of the nude body, but at the same time quite literally veils those bodies. As an example of Scholten's desire for workers' bodies – even within a situation of leisure – it might be seen as a vision of Zionist labour, modernity and brotherhood. But in other ways, it still has a confluence with Scholten's photos of the tanners in Jaffa and their biblical implications.

Many in the Third Aliyah had come to Palestine via Zionist youth movements that were inspired by the German *Wandervogel*, a youth movement that was geared towards nature, health and outdoor activities, not unlike the British Scouts Movement.[49] Even Magnus Hirschfeld commented on the impacts of *Wandervogel* (established 1896), the British Scout Movement (established 1907), and its German branch *Pfadfinders* (established 1926) in helping Zionist youth grow healthy bodies and overcome sexual repression.[50] However, statistics on the high suicide rate among *halutzim* over failed romances might, with historical hindsight, suggest another interpretation of Zionist youth culture than Hirschfeld's praise.[51]

As much as such youth movements were fundamentally modern, it is their reconstitution in Palestine that in part enabled the birth of the new Hebrew body and the *Sabra*[52] (Palestinian-born Jewish) identity. In this respect, these youth movements mirror the new hybrid identity of the Philistine-Israelite proposed by Jabotinsky in *Samson* by virtue of allowing Jewish bodies to flourish in the 'Holy Landscape', a parallel to the assumptions of the biblical indigeneity explored in Chapter 4.

Much like the previous case study of military men, there is no direct evidence to indicate sexual relations between Scholten and men in Tel Aviv. However, in a very similar vein, the images that Scholten took of Jewish men both at work and leisure appear to fall within the scope of his own desires for working men as described in Dutch legal records (see Chapter 1). Images like Figure 5.17 capture a moment of intimacy with a young man lying on his bed, who also appears in other photos of brotherly friendship, such as Figure 5.18.

Figure 5.17 *Untitled* [Young man in dorm room].
Digitized negative, Tel Aviv 18: 72

Figure 5.18 *Untitled* [Two young men].
Digitized negative, Tel Aviv 4: 43

Images of male friendship like Figure 5.18 conjure the youthful figures of the biblical David and Jonathan, drawing these images of a Zionist modernity back to a biblical root, but one that is made flesh in the youthful men's bodies. The Zionist bodies produced by youth movements are here reconstituted with what Stephen Sheehi calls the surplus value of photography,[53] drawing on queer biblical perceptions of friendship conjured by David and Jonathan, while still claiming a modern subject position.

It is a pity that Scholten never planned a volume or volumes on Tel Aviv (see Figures 1.2a and 1.2b in Chapter 1). Such preparation would have yielded valuable information on the city as well as Scholten's creative process, adding greatly to our knowledge of *Yishuv* life in Palestine. He did, however, leave a significant body of photographs around Tel Aviv, some of which appear to have been in a process of organization towards an abandoned project on the fledgling township.[54] In the collection of negatives alone, this includes twelve envelopes which appear to have been part of the abandoned book project, another twenty-one envelopes marked solely 'Tel Aviv', and a group of fourteen envelopes marked 'Jaffa, Tel Aviv and Sarona' together, which show what might be conceptualized as 'Greater Jaffa'.

In December 1920, just months before Scholten arrived in Palestine, the *Histadrut* (Zionist Labour Federation) was established. It was envisioned not only as a trade union, but as a vehicle for the Jewish settlement of Palestine and as an institution to support building a Jewish commonwealth.[55] The moment at which Scholten was actively producing his project coincided with the birth of an organized labour Zionism. Taken with Scholten's queer lens, these photos speak to the construction of a Zionist masculinity through Scholten's documentation of men's labour.

The birth of Tel Aviv can be traced to 1906 when a group of middle-class Jews, including the older Sephardic communities and more recent Ashkenazi immigrants, founded a society to purchase land and construct homes in the Jaffa area. The society's first meeting set out its aim of building homes for a new *Hebrew Yishuv*, but quickly 'new' was replaced by 'modern'.[56] Three ideological motivations were put forward by the society: the obligation to nationalist-Zionist society in the city; to prevent the flow of Jewish capital to Arab landlords (the single largest economic drain out of Zionist communities), and to bolster Zionist prestige and hence political capital.[57] A pamphlet dated 31 July 1906 about the building of Tel Aviv proposed that the city would be Israel's New York. This was meant not in the sense of urban planning, but as a port of entry for funnelling Jewish migration to Palestine.[58] Even before Scholten's arrival in Palestine, and despite his later titling of Volume I of *Palestine Illustrated* 'Gate of Entrance',

based on the original French title *La porte d'entrée*, Zionist colonial motivations can be seen from the outset of Tel Aviv's construction.

Images like Figure 5.19 are common in the Tel Aviv sections of the Scholten collection. We know from press clippings of Scholten's exhibition 'Palestine in Transition' that images of modern Tel Aviv were well represented and hold political significance (see Chapter 1). Notwithstanding Scholten's desires for working men, the images again reinforce Zionist notions of a nationalist brotherhood. Like his tendency to trace different aspects of industry, in photos of Tel Aviv, construction is a considerable theme of Scholten's. Figure 5.20 shows the production of concrete blocks for building, placed upright in a phallic stance and in regimented rows. Behind the brickyard is the glimpse of one of the new modern buildings.

Here, labour takes on a new role in constructing masculinity, nationhood and brotherhood, even in the very early days of the British Mandate. This building boom has parallels with that of the religious architecture discussed in Chapter 2, but with the secular and modern inflection of labour Zionism, albeit one that conjures biblical narratives through virility and brotherhood.

The act of building brotherhood became synonymous with both the literal and figurative building of the nation. In Figure 5.21, a group of male workers

Figure 5.19 *Untitled* [Zionist labourers].

Digitized negative, Tel Aviv 13: 3

Figure 5.20 *Untitled* [Zionist labourer in concrete brick factory].
Digitized negative, Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Sarona 5: 33

Figure 5.21 *Untitled* [Zionist labourers in factory].
Digitized negative, Tel Aviv 11: 90

pose in a factory, each looking at the camera in the familiar costuming of the period, with undershirts and work pants, some with caps on their heads. One subject, to the centre right of the photo, is even wearing a *kufiyya*, a nod to the notion of biblical indigeneity discussed in Chapter 4. The group portrait reads like a family photo, a group united in their fraternal goal of building the nation.

Conclusion

While Scholten's sexual relations with working and military men in the Netherlands are well documented, understanding his time in Palestine is somewhat more difficult given the minimal evidence. In the case of the tanning factory, there is compelling photographic evidence of some sort of sexual interaction. In the case studies of military personnel and *Yishuv* labour there is none.

What is presented across all three case studies is the variance in different modes of masculinity and broad spectrums of sexuality. They also provide insights into the fluidity of gender and sexuality at that time. This is further complicated by the transnational movements of people from incoming Jewish settlers to foreign military personnel who maintained the colonial order. This effectively blurs a universalist reading of sex, sexuality and sexual identity.

Reading this within the context of Scholten's own travels and transnational perspective becomes a difficult task in deciphering specific events, particularly in lieu of a diary or memoir that would help clarify details of his daily life. What is far more productive is to contextualize these images within nationalist, communalist and transnational understandings of masculinity and homosocial spaces. Doing so reveals the bleeds between different modes of masculinity and contextualizes them within the milieus in which Scholten mingled both in Palestine and Europe.

It is also evident that across all three case studies is a photographic framing of masculinity that relates to Scholten's own desires. Understanding his photographs of men and contextualizing them with the images that he collected yields useful information on how he understood ambiguous spectrums of masculinity. The labour that men undertook and the photos that Scholten made of them also speaks to the different ways in which he related to men. The tanners in Jaffa are directly linked to a biblical narrative through the story of Simon the Tanner, while images of military men become conflated with the stories of Saul,

David and Jonathan. Both show the implications of these queer visions through the biblical narratives that legitimize queerness. The contextualization of photographs of military men through biblical narratives of David and Jonathan pushes those images even further by showing the tumultuous deceptions of war and its implications for brotherhood – sexual or otherwise. Surveying the visibly modern images of *Yishuv* men working in factories or at leisure, there is no outright invocation of biblical narrative by Scholten. However, considering *Yishuv* culture more broadly, Jabotinsky's story of *Samson* links their bodies and sexuality back to a religious narrative couched within a nationalist paradigm of youth culture. The matrix of men that Scholten presents, and their embodiments of visions of the nation, each tell a different, though interlinked, story in the ways Scholten frames them.

6

Epilogue: Redefining the biblical in a modern world

Scholten's photographic project offers a rich visual archive that densely documents Palestine over two and a half years of significant political, social and cultural change with the onset of British colonial rule. His attentiveness to taxonomizing the complex identity categories of people during the British Mandate (Arab, Jewish and so many others) gives us access to granular photographic details of different aspects of that society, albeit from his own personal perspective. These details are enriched even further with the complex system of referencing in his publications and works in ways that yield hidden information despite their obtuse presentation. Scholten's project of visual ethnography, once read and understood, is an incredibly valuable historical source for understanding the implications of the onset of the British colonial mandate over Palestine. Moreover, Scholten's religious persuasions and his broad engagement with the scholarly and photographic context of the region gives us a highly particularized vision of the implications of biblical narrative in framing Palestine and the ways in which it was produced as the 'Holy Land'.

The culture of religion he portrayed with his camera speaks to the multivalent and multidirectional ways in which religion and its conflation with nationalism impacted on identity at the individual, collective and transnational levels. It also speaks to how each of these levels interacted within one another. This aspect of Scholten's work has enabled this book to frame individuals' micro-history and their lived experiences of this modernity within the macro-historical currents through the various meso-level networks that mediated their experience. Indeed, the ways in which different groups sought to identify with this 'Holy Landscape' outside of their communal or ethnonationalist boundaries tells us much about nationalism, colonialism and different perceptions of indigeneity. This culture of religion even impacted the built environment and landscape itself, as much

as the social performances that speak to trans- and intercommunal relations. Indeed, it demonstrates that this culture of religion was much larger than any one individual or group could produce in isolation, despite the contestations of biblical indigeneity that are so prevalent in his photographic collection.

While Scholten's categorizations of people explored the ethno-confessional diversity of the region – with all the nationalist implications to which such categorizations relate – his queer approach opens ambiguous spectrums of gender and sexuality. These visions of masculinity also interrelate with various nationalisms – and the other identity categories that Scholten documents – but also show a porous world of queer relations in which identity boundaries are not so firmly placed.

Scholten's collected materials take these queer ambiguities a step further in their conflation with biblical narrative. While Palestine might have been produced as the 'Holy Land' in different ways and by multiple groups (communal, national and supranational), Scholten's queering of biblical narrative provides a glimpse into his interior world, and those of other queers both foreign and local. Even within this, we see entanglements with nationalism, brotherhood and war that inscribes masculinity with different meanings.

While this book project began years before the events of 7 October 2023, the urgency of documenting the modern histories of Palestine has created a new importance for this volume and the nascent nationalisms that can be read in the photography with which it deals. Just three weeks later on 28 October 2023, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu gave a speech in Tel Aviv conjuring the Amalekites, one of the biblical enemies of the Israelites:

> They are longing to recompense the murderers for the horrific acts they perpetrated on our children, our women, our parents and our friends. They are committed to eradicating this evil from the world, for our existence, and I add, for the good of all humanity. The entire people, and the leadership of the people, embrace them and believe in them. 'Remember what Amalek did to you' [Deuteronomy 25:17]. We remember and we fight.
>
> Our brave soldiers who are now in Gaza, around Gaza and in the other sectors throughout the country, join a chain of heroes of Israel that has continued for over 3,000 years, from Joshua, Judah Maccabee and Bar Kochba, and up to the heroes of 1948, the Six Day War, the Yom Kippur War and Israel's other wars.[1]

The Amalekites appear in a number of biblical texts, including the Book of Samuel, which recounts Saul's wars against his enemies at the command of God. The slaughter of the Amalekites was in retaliation for their attacks on the Israelites as they fled Egypt.

The re-periodization of this ancient conflict between the Israelites and Amalekites has distinct parallels with the ways in which Scholten mobilized the biblical narrative in interpreting Palestine. While Scholten sought traces of the biblical past in the modern era, Netanyahu's speech conjured the biblical past to justify the present. Indeed, his invocation of the past has parallels to the ways in which biblical indigeneity was nationalistically mobilized as outlined in Chapter 4.

The impacts of the war have been significant in terms of not only the vast loss of life, but also the devastating loss of culture, heritage and historical archives.[2] One particularly devastating loss was the photographic collection of Photo Kegham, a studio run by Gaza's first studio photographer Kegham Djeghalian, which was an early victim of the war. His grandson, Kegham Djeghalian Jr, has been working with remnants of his family collection as well as attempting to regenerate it through crowd sourcing images from Gazan family albums in the Diaspora, but the loss has been a significant blow to understanding Gaza's modern social and cultural history through photography in the years that it was under operation, from 1944 to 1981.[3] Djeghalian Jr, has been exhibiting the collection and giving talks in various locations, including The Netherlands, France, UK, UAE and Egypt.

Certainly, surviving images from the Photo Kegham collection (such as Figure 6.1) are a rich insight into the modern culture of Gaza that begin to give a sense of the cultural losses. As can be seen in this volume and so many others, photography is an incredibly important source for understanding and expanding on the social and cultural history of Palestine.

While the destruction of cultural objects such as photographic archives is an irrevocable loss of Palestinian history, the political situation also makes it increasingly difficult to locate, research and access existing local photographic archives. This makes collections by foreign photographers such as Scholten all the more important. While Frank Scholten was a foreigner, his particular sensitivities to structures of communalism and his queer lens make the collection an extremely valuable source for Palestinian history, particularly in the current moment.

Understanding the social, cultural and political transformations of Palestine a century ago is fundamental to understanding the roots of the current moment. Recent events have seen a significant loss not just of the many lives, but a whole cultural history, and the loss has been immense. Indeed, this volume has become an elegy to a world that is lost and to other histories that could have been written.

The context of biblical modernity which Scholten depicts is an important illustration not just of a phenomenon of the modern past, but something that has

Figure 6.1 *Untitled* [Costume party in Gaza], 1950s.
Kegham Djeghalian, Photo Kegham Image courtesy of Kegham Djeghalian Jr

clear and ongoing implications that inform the contemporary nationalisms and colonialisms of the 'Holy Land'. Indeed, the shift from Ottoman imperial rule to British colonial mandate and the transformations that occurred within that have reverberations that continue to haunt Palestine to this day. Reading photographs as cultural objects in the social world – and all the relational entanglements that such objects have – provides us with new insights into the cultural implications of political processes.

Notes

Introduction

1 The project finished in 2022, but a project overview can be found at https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/humanities/crossroads-european-cultural-diplomacy-and-arab-christians-in-palestine-a-connected-history-1920-1950#tab-1 (accessed 15 June 2025).

2 L. Kozma, A. Schayegh and A. Wishnitzer, *A Global Middle East: Mobility, Materiality and Culture in the Modern Age, 1880–1940* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 6.

3 Jean-Claude Passeron and Jacques Revel, eds., *Penser par cas* (Paris: EHESS, 2005); John Paul Ghobrial, 'Seeing the World as a Microhistorian', *Past and Present* 242, no. 14 (2019): 1–22; Jan de Vries, 'Playing with Scales: The Global and the Micro, the Macro and the Nano', *Past and Present* 242, no. 14 (2019): 23–36.

4 Keith Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 8.

5 Randy Innes, 'Jerusalem Revisited: On Auguste Salzmann's Photo-Topography', *Religion and the Arts* 15, no. 3 (2011): 306–37; Emmie Donadio, 'Seeing is believing: Auguste Salzmann and the photographic representation of Jerusalem,' in *Jerusalem Idea and Reality*, eds. Tamar Mayer and Suleiman Mourad (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 140–54; Abigail Solomon-Godeau, 'A Photographer in Jerusalem, 1855: Auguste Salzmann and His Times,' *October* 18 (1981): 91–107; Douglas M. Haller, *In Arab Lands: The Bonfils collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 11–27; Keri Berg, 'The imperialist lens: Du Camp, Salzmann and Early French photography,' *Early Popular Visual Culture* 6, no. 1 (2007): 1–17; Francis Frith, Julia van Haaften and J. E. Manchip White, *Egypt and the Holy Land in historic photographs* (New York: Dover Publications; Constable, 1980), 77; Douglas Nickel, *Francis Frith in Egypt and Palestine: A Victorian Photographer Abroad* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

6 Nasser, Issam. '"Biblification" in the Service of Colonialism: Jerusalem in Nineteenth-century Photography', *Third Text* 20, no. 374 (2006): 317–26.

7 On local photography, see: Özge Calafato 'Over verlies, ontwrichting en intimiteit: de erfenis van Gaza's Photo Kegham (1944–1981)' (Of Loss, Disruption, and Intimacies: The Afterlives of Gaza's Photo Kegham (1944-1981)), *ZemZem Tijdschrift* 2024/1, 109–21; Issam Nassar, 'Early Local Photography in Palestine: The Legacy of Karimeh Abbud', *Jerusalem Quarterly* 46 (2011): 23–31; Badr El-Hage, 'Khalil Raad - Jerusalem Photographer', *Jerusalem Quarterly* 11–12 (2001); Salim Tamari, *The Great War and the Remaking of Palestine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017); Ali Behdad, 'Mediated Visions: Early Photography of the Middle East and Orientalist Network', *History of Photography* 41, no. 4 (2017): 362–75; Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem, eds., *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire, 1840–1914* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2015); Karl Bassil, *Becoming Van Leo* (Berlin: Arab Image Foundation and Archive Books, 2021); Özge Calafato, *The Making the Modern Turkish Citizen: Vernacular Photography in the Early Republican Era* (London: Bloomsbury, 2024).

8 Stephen Sheehi, *The Arab Imago: A Social History of Portrait Photography, 1860–1910* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

9 Yasmine Nachabe Taan, *Reading Marie al-Khazen's Photographs: Gender, Photography and Mandate Lebanon* (London: Bloomsbury, 2022).

10 Issam Nassar, Salim Tamari and Stephen Sheehi, *Camera Palaestina: Photography and the Displaced Histories of Palestine* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2022).

11 Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (New York: Zone Books, digital edition, 2008), 85–6.

12 Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography*, 168.

13 Clarke, 'Theorising the Role of Cultural Products in Cultural Diplomacy', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 22, no. 2 (2016): 154.

14 David Clarke, 'Theorising the Role of Cultural Products in Cultural Diplomacy,' 153.

15 Stephen Sheehi, 'Before Painting: Nicola Saig, Painting, and Photographic Seeing', *Jerusalem Quarterly*, Issue 100 (2024): 54.

16 Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East,* 8.

17 Sheehi, 'Before Painting,' 42.

18 Sheehi, 'Before Painting', 363.

19 Stephen Sheehi, 'Decolonising the Photography of Palestine: Searching for a Method in a Plate of Hummus,' in *Imaging and Imagining Palestine*, ed. Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 344.

Chapter 1

1 Teresa Lidia Kwiecień, 'Frank Scholten', PhotoLexicon, 25, 40 (December 2008).
2 W. J. J. C. Bijleveld, W. Wijnaendts van Besandt and Jhr. Mr E. B. F. F. Wittert van Hoogland, eds., *Nederlands' Adelboek* (s-Gravenhage: W. P. Van Stockum en Zoon, 1919), 157.
3 W. J. J. C. Bijleveld, W. Wijnaendts van Besandt and Jhr. Mr E. B. F. F. Wittert van Hoogland, eds., *Nederlands' Adelboek* (s-Gravenhage: W. P. Van Stockum en Zoon, 1916), 101.
4 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301, Dossier 8037.
5 Theo van der Meer, *Jonkheer mr. Jacob Anton Schorer (1866–1957): Een biografie van homoseksualiteit* (Amsterdam: Schorer, 2007)07, 215.
6 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301, Dossier 8037.
7 Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem, eds., *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire, 1840–1914* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2015); Brian Coe and Paul Gates, *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography 1888–1939* (London: Ash & Grant, 1977), 36.
8 A postcard dated 3 November 1912 is the earliest indication of his Catholicism, but his conversion is likely to have taken place sometime before this.
9 In a postcard to his friend Geertje dated 16 January 1920, Scholten talks of attending confession and taking communion at St Peters in Rome.
10 Postcards to Geertje from Jerusalem, dated 19 April 1921 and from Jaffa 30 November 1923.
11 After Scholten returned to Europe, he complained in a postcard to his friend Geertje in 1928 that due to a miscommunication his library, collected over a twenty-year period, had been sold at the port in Jaffa rather than returned to him in Europe. That roughly dates his library to at least 1908. Postcards to Geertje, dated 9 and 11 February 1928.
12 See for instance Issam Nassar, 'Familial Snapshots: Representing Palestine in the Work of the First Local Photographers', *History & Memory* 18, no. 2 (2006): 139–55.
13 Harry Post, *Pillarization: An Analysis of Dutch and Belgian Society* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1989).
14 Staf Hellemans, 'Pillarization ("Verzuiling"). On Organized "Self-Contained Worlds" in the Modern World', *The American Sociologist* 51 (2020): 125.
15 Benjamin Trigona-Harany, *The Ottoman Süryânî from 1908 to 1914* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013), 77.
16 Jacob Israël de Haan, *Pijpelijntjes* (Amsterdam: Van Cleef, 1904).
17 Sary Zananiri, 'From Still to Moving Image: Shifting Representation of Jerusalem and Palestinians in the Western Biblical Imaginary', *Jerusalem Quarterly* 67 (Autumn, 2016): 69.

18 In one of the postcards to Geertje, Scholten complains that his stepmother won't help him at all financially. The postcard is sent from Berlin and dated 9 September 1931.

19 I thank Salim Tamari and the descendants of Hanna Habib Kayaleh for generously sharing a facsimile of Scholten's publications with the annotations of his identifications made in the 1980s.

20 There are two folios of reviews that have been cut and pasted. They come from a variety of places. The majority are from Europe, but also some from Palestine and Egypt as well as Hong Kong and Australia. They were also reviewed favourably in both the Arabic and Hebrew press.

21 'Frank Scholten Collection', Leiden University Library, https://collectionguides.universiteitleiden.nl/resources/ubl674 (accessed 15 June 2025). Two further albums focused on Paris and London have more recently been discovered in the Netherlands Institute for the Near East archives, bringing the total to sixty-seven albums.

22 I thank Leiden University Library's Special Collections for this useful information derived from a project involving image digital matching of images undertaken in conjunction with Oxford University.

23 An exact date remains unclear, but from the postcard correspondence with Geertje Pooijar, the first postcard Scholten sends from Palestine is dated 19 April 1921 and was sent after another dated 29 March from Alexandria in Egypt. His last postcard from Palestine is dated 30 November 1923.

24 Sary Zananiri, 'Documenting the Social', in *Imaging and Imagining Palestine: Photography, Modernity and the Biblical Lens*, ed. Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 268.

25 Leiden University Archives, BPL 3082–8.

26 For details of Scholten's various editions, see: François Scholten, *La Palestine Illustrée: Tableau Complet de la Terre Sainte par la Photographie, Évoquant les Souvenirs de la Bible, du Talmud et du Coran, et se rapportant au passé comme au présent*, *Vol I La porte d'entrée – Jaffa Vol II. Jaffa la Belle* (Paris: Jean Budry & Co., 1929); German: Frank Scholten, *Palästina – Bibel, Talmud, Koran. Eine vollständige Darstellung aller Textstellen in eigenen künstlerischen Aufnahmen aus Gegenwart und Vergangenheit des Heiligen Landes. Bd. I: DIE EINGANGSPFORTE. JAFFA. Mit 449 Abbildungen in Kupfertiefdruck, Bd. II: JAFFA, DIE SCHÖNE.* Mit 371 Abbildungen in Kupfertiefdruck (Stuttgart: Hoffmann, 1930); English: Frank Scholten and G. Robinson Lees, eds., *Palestine Illustrated including References to Passages Illustrated in the Bible, the Talmud and the Koran, Vol.1 Gate of Entrance, Vol.2 Jaffa the Beautiful* (London: Green Longmans, 1931); and Dutch: Frank Scholten, *Palestina: Bijbel, Talmud, Koran. Een volledige illustratie van alle teksten door middel van eigen artistieke foto's uit het heden en verleden van het Heilige Land De toegangspoort Jaffa* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1935).

27 Zananiri, 'Documenting the Social', 268.
28 Sary Zananiri, 'Frank Scholten: Landschap in het Brits Mandaat Palestina', *Fotografisch Geheugen* 96 (December 2018).
29 These are pasted into two notebooks in Box 95.
30 The earliest mention of this figure is in a review of Scholten's exhibition 'Palestine in Transition', Charles H. L. Emanuel in *The Jewish Guardian*, 22 February 1924, but this continues to be mentioned in interviews throughout the late 1920s and early 30s when his volumes are published.
31 'Palestine in Transition', *The British Journal of Photography,* 29 February 1924, 130.
32 William Rubinstein and Michael Jolles, *The Palgrave Dictionary of Anglo-Jewish History* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 69.
33 'Exhibitions: Palestine in Transition', *The British Journal of Photography*, 29 February 1924, 130.
34 Ibid.
35 Charles H. L. Emanuel, 'Palestine in Transition', *The Jewish Guardian*, 22 February 1924, 14.
36 Ibid.
37 For more details on Nabi Rubeen, see Mahmoud Yazbak, 'The Muslim Festival of Nabi Rubin in Palestine: From Religious Festival to Summer Resort,' *Holy Land Studies* 10, no. 2 (2011): 169–98.
38 'Life in Palestine', *The Times* (London), 26 February 1924: 5. *The Times Digital Archive.*
39 Postcard to Geertje, 16 February 1924.
40 Postcard to Geertje, 25 July 1922.
41 This can be seen in letters about his books from Israël Lévi, the Grand Rabbi of France and Nahum Sokolow, President of the World Zionist Organization.
42 Postcard to Geertje, 13 May 1931.
43 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).
44 Scholten, *Gate of Entrance*, 3.
45 Scholten, *Gate of Entrance*, 4.
46 Scholten, *Gate of Entrance*, 12.
47 Sherene Seikaly investigates the growth of the modern economy in her landmark study on the economic history of Mandate Palestine and its implications for Palestinian modernity. *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015).
48 Scholten Collection, Box 95.
49 Scholten Collection, Box 95, folios 1 and 2.
50 Scholten Collection, Box 95.
51 Zananiri, 'Documenting the Social', 283.

52 Particularly the work that he would have been exposed to when at the WHK in 1910; see Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten: Eine Untersuchung über den Erotischen Verkleidungstrieb* [Transvestites: The Erotic Desire to Cross-Dress] (Liepzig: Verlag Wahrheit, 1910).

53 Randy Innes, 'Jérusalem Revisited: On Auguste Salzmann's Photo-Topography', *Religion and the Arts* 15 (2011): 306–307.

54 A list of the further publications includes: Vol. 3: *Coast of the Mediterranean Sea,* vol. 4: *Jerusalem (Old Testament)*, vol. 5: *Jerusalem (New Testament)*, vol. 6: *Along the Jordan River and the Dead Sea,* vol. 7: *Haifa and Carmel,* vol. 8: *Haifa and Carmel,* vol. 9: *Samaria,* vol. 10: *Nazareth and Surrounds & Bethlehem and Surrounds,* vol. 11: *Galilee,* vol. 12: *Biblical Syria and Transjordan,* vol. 13: *Damascus and Lebanon,* vol. 14: *The Travels of Paul and the Cities of Revelation,* vol. 15: *Mount Sinai and the Journey of the Israelites Through the Desert,* vol. 16: *Biblical Egypt.*

55 Postcards to Geertje, 12 January 1931; 20 February 1931; and 19 April 1931, all postmarked Berlin.

56 Postcards to Geertje, 9 and 11 February 1928.

57 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301, Dossier 8037, letter from Scholten to the Chief Inspector of Police.

58 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301, Dossier 8037.

59 An early nomenclature for queers encompassing both homosexuals and gender non-conformists.

60 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301, Dossier 8037, letter from Scholten to the Chief Inspector of Police.

61 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301, Dossier 8037, letter from Scholten to the Chief Inspector of Police.

62 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301, Dossier 8037, 34 Gerardus Hendricus Backhoff Testimony.

63 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301, Dossier 8037, 34 Gerrit Hendrik Bakker Testimony.

64 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301, Dossier 8037, 43, letter dated Amsterdam 17 October 1910.

65 Noord-Hollands Archief, Arrondissementsrechtbank Amsterdam 200–129, Dossier 308, Testimony by co-defendant A. M. Van Rooij (Part of case 3022: Kakebeen and clients).

66 Van der Meer, *Jonkheer mr. Jacob Anton Schorer (1866–1957)*, 171–6.

67 Noord-Hollands Archief, Arrondissementsrechtbank Amsterdam 200–129, Dossier 311, Testimony Dirk Oostindie against Salomon Lam (Part of case 3022: Kakebeen and clients).

68 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301, Dossier 8037, Letter from Scholten to the Chief Inspector of Police.

69 198 Arrondissementsrechtbank Amsterdam, Registers van strafzaken 960 – 1920, 3022.
70 Anonymous letter dated from Amsterdam, 14 October 1920.
71 200 Arrondissementsrechtbank Amsterdam 33–126 Strafvonnissen, 1921–1930 – nr 1931b/3022
72 200 Arrondissementsrechtbank Amsterdam 33–126 Strafvonnissen, 1921–1930 – nr 1931b/3022
73 198 Arrondissementsrechtbank Amsterdam Registers van strafzaken 960 – 1920 – nr 3022
74 Postcard to Geertje, 21 October 1920 to 4 April 1921.
75 198 Arrondissementsrechtbank Amsterdam Registers van strafzaken 960 – 1920 – nr 3022
76 Postcard to Geertje, 11 February 1921.
77 Postcards to Geertje, 26, 28 and 30 October 1920.
78 James D. Bratt and Mark A. Noll, *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Library of Religious Biography, 2013), 343.
79 Bratt and Noll, *Abraham Kuyper,* xxiii–xxviii.
80 Zananiri, 'Documenting the Social', 277–8.
81 A postcard to Geertje dated 3 November 1912 mentions visiting various Catholic sites in Rome, so his conversion must have taken place before that.
82 Magnus Hirschfeld, *The Transvestites,* trans. M. A. Lombardi, cited in Magnus Hirschfeld, 'Die intersexuelle Konstitution Zwischenstufen', 23; also cited in Darryl B. Hill, 'Sexuality and Gender in Hirschfeld's Die Transvestiten: A Case of the "Elusive Evidence of the Ordinary"', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14, no. 3 (2005): 316–32; https://www.jstor.org/stable/3704656, accessed 22 February 2020.
83 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301, Dossier 8037.

Chapter 2

1 Issam Nassar, 'Early local photography in Jerusalem', *History of Photography* 27, no. 4 (2003): 320–32.
2 For instance Maxim du Camp, Francis Frith, Francis Bedford, Menden John Diness and those who moved and established businesses and photographic practices, such as the American Colony Photo Department or Maison Bonfils, to name but a handful.
3 Randy Innes, 'Jérusalem Revisited: On Auguste Salzmann's Photo-Topography', *Religion and the Arts* 15 (2011): 329.
4 Auguste Salzmann, *Jerusalem: Ētude et Reproduction Photographique des Monuments de la Ville Sainte Depuis l'Ēpoque Judaïque Jusqu'à Nos Jours, par Auguste Salzmann* (Chargé par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, d'une mission scientifique en Orient; Paris: Gide et J. Baudry, 1856).

5 H. G. Cocks, *Visions of Sodom* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 212–14.
6 For instance, its uptake by the British Chartist movement, Cocks, *Visions of Sodom*, 202–3.
7 Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem, eds., *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire, 1840–1914* (Istanbul: Koç University Press, 2015), 30–3.
8 Issam Nasser, '"Biblification" in the Service of Colonialism: Jerusalem in Nineteenth-century Photography', *Third Text* 20, no. 374 (2006): 317–26.
9 See Scholten's collected images.
10 For instance Khalil Raad, Karimeh Abboud, Issa Sawabini, Daoud Saboungi, Rachmann and Tsadok Bassan. Badr El-Hage, 'Khalil Raad – Jerusalem Photographer', *Jerusalem Quarterly* (2001): 11–12; Salim Tamari, *The Great War and the Remaking of Palestine* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017); Issam Nassar, 'Early Local Photography in Palestine: The Legacy of Karimeh Abbud', *Jerusalem Quarterly* 46 (2011): 23–31.
11 This collection in particular underscores the many different photographers who included local Palestinians such as the Albina Brothers, early postcards produced by Boulos Meo for his well-known souvenir and antiquities shop, and the well-known American Colony Photo Department, alongside photos by many visiting photographers and Jewish immigrants. The Pearlman Collection is held at the Hebrew University. See https://en-digitalhumanities.huji.ac.il/pearlman-collection-making-big-data-publicly-available (accessed 17 June 2025).
12 Tropes such as shepherd and fishermen were significant motifs in biblified photography. See Nassar, '"Biblification" in the Service of Colonialism', 232–324.
13 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 276–7.
14 Rona Sela, 'Resilient Resistance: Colonial Biblical, Archaeological and Ethnographical Imaginaries in the Work of Chalil Raad (Khalīl Raʿd), 1891–1948', in *Imaging and Imagining Palestine: Photography Modernity and the Biblical Lens 1918–1948*, ed. Karène Sanchez Summer and Sary Zananiri (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 203.
15 Nadia Abu El-Haj, *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self-Fashioning in Israeli Society*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).
16 For example PEF, EBAF, ASOR, BSAJ.
17 Sary Zananiri, 'Imaging and Imagining Palestine: An Introduction', in *Imaging and Imagining Palestine: Photography Modernity and the Biblical Lens*, ed. Karène Sanchez Summer and Sary Zananiri (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 8.
18 Innes, 'Jerusalem Revisited: On Auguste Salzmann's Photo-Topography', 306–37; Emmie Donadio, 'Seeing is believing: Auguste Salzmann and the photographic representation of Jerusalem', in *Jerusalem: Idea and Reality*, ed. Tamar Mayer and Suleiman Mourad (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2008), 140–54; Abigail Solomon-Godeau, 'A Photographer in Jerusalem, 1855: Auguste Salzmann and His Times',

October 18 (1981): 91–107; Douglas M. Haller, *In Arab Lands: The Bonfils collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 1127; Keri Berg, 'The imperialist lens: Du Camp, Salzmann and Early French photography', *Early Popular Visual Culture* 6, no. 1 (2007): 1–17; Francis Frith, Julia van Haaften and J. E. Manchip White, *Egypt and the Holy Land in historic photographs* (New York: Dover Publications 1980), 77; Douglas Nickel, *Francis Frith in Egypt and Palestine: A Victorian Photographer Abroad* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

19 This includes the studio of Garabed Krikorian, Khalīl Raʿad, ʿIsā Sawabīnī, Karīma ʿAbūd and Dāwūd Sabūnjī, to name a handful.

20 Sela, 'Resilient Resistance', figure 6.19.

21 For an extended account of this, see Jasmin Daam, *Tourism and the Emergence of Nation-States in the Arab Eastern Mediterranean* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2023).

22 Brian Coe and Paul Gates, *The Snapshot Photograph: The Rise of Popular Photography 1888–1939* (London: Ash & Grant, 1977), 22.

23 Doron Bar and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, 'A New Kind of Pilgrimage: The Modern Tourist Pilgrim of Nineteenth Century and Early Twentieth Century Palestine', *Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no. 2 (2003): 137.

24 Lars Lind, *Jerusalem Before Zionism* (Unpublished manuscript, Library of Congress), 129.

25 Lind, *Jerusalem Before Zionism*, 130.

26 Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Noam Shoval, *Tourism, Religion, and Pilgrimage in Jerusalem* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 29.

27 Ruth Kark and Seth J. Frantzman, 'The Protestant Garden Tomb in Jerusalem, Englishwomen, and a Land Transaction in Late Ottoman Palestine', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 142, no. 3 (2010): 199–216.

28 Rami Meo, personal communication, 2019.

29 Sarah Irving, '"Indian Lady Tourists Killed at Jericho": Tourism, Pilgrimage and South-South Relations in Interwar Palestine', *Mashriq and Mahjar* 10, no. 2 (2023): 100.

30 See for instance Omar Khalidi, 'Indian Muslims and Palestinian Awqaf', *Jerusalem Quarterly* 40: 52–8.

31 Ernest Tatham Richmond, *The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem: A Description of its Structure and Decoration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924).

32 Laura S. Schor, *Sophie Halaby in Jerusalem: An Artist's Life* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2019), 9; Kamal Boullata, *Palestinian Art: From 1850 to the Present* (London: Saqi, 2009), 56.

33 Archmandrite Antonin Kapustin's diary, 1881, published online, accessed 20 July 2022. https://azbyka.ru/otechnik/Antonin_Kapustin/dnevnik-1881/1 (accessed 17 June 2025).

34 For an extended account, see Adina Hoffman, *Till We Have Built Jerusalem: Architects of a New City* (New York: Macmillan, 2017).
35 Including both Ottoman and British projects, including those documented by Ernest Tatham Richmond as previously discussed.
36 Nadi Abusaada, 'Urban Encounters: Imaging the City in Mandate Palestine', in *Imaging and Imagining Palestine: Photography Modernity and the Biblical Lens*, ed. Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 378.
37 Lora Gerd, 'The Palestine Society: Cultural Diplomacy and Scholarship in Late Tsarist Russia and the Soviet State', in *European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine 1918–1948: Between Connection and Contention*, ed. Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri (Cham: Palgrave, 2021), 274–5.
38 Gerd, 'The Palestine Society: Cultural Diplomacy and Scholarship', 274.
39 Nikolay Lisovoi Sergievsky, *Hospice: Its Fate, History Prospects* (Jerusalem: Antonin Kapustin Fund, 2017), 17.
40 Itamar Katz and Ruth Kark, 'The church and landed property: The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem', *Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no. 3 (2007): 388–9.
41 Ruth Kark and Seth J, Frantzman, 'The Protestant Garden Tomb in Jerusalem, Englishwomen, and a Land Transaction in Late Ottoman Palestine', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 142, no. 3 (2010): 199–201.
42 Kark and Frantzman, 'The Protestant Garden Tomb in Jerusalem', 204–6.
43 Masha Halevi, 'Contested Heritage: Multi-Layered Politics and the Formation of the Sacred Space – The Church of Gethsemane as a Case-Study', *The Historical Journal* 58, no. 4 (2015): 1033–7.
44 Halevi, 'Contested Heritage', 1038–9.
45 Postcard to Geertje sent from Jericho, 5 February 1922.
46 Nicholas E. Roberts, 'Dividing Jerusalem', *Journal of Palestine Studies* 42, no. 4 (2013): 9–11.
47 Noah Hysler-Rubin, 'Arts & Crafts and the Great City: Charles Robert Ashbee in Jerusalem', *Planning Perspectives* 21, no. 4 (2006): 355.
48 Hysler-Rubin, 'Arts & Crafts and the Great City', 347–8.
49 Hysler-Rubin, 'Arts & Crafts and the Great City', 360.
50 Roberto Mazza, 'The Preservation and Safeguarding of the Amenities of the Holy City without Favour or Prejudice to Race or Creed: The Pro-Jerusalem Society and Ronald Storrs, 1917–1926', in *Ordinary Jerusalem 1840–1940*, ed. Angelos Dalachanis and Vincent Lemire (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 409.
51 Moya Tönnies, *Colonial Diplomacy through Art: Jerusalem 1918–1926* (Leiden: Brill 2024), 359–67.
52 Mazza, 'The Preservation and Safeguarding of the Amenities of the Holy City', 403–8.

53 Roberts, 'Dividing Jerusalem', 9.
54 Roberts, 'Dividing Jerusalem', 9.
55 Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 228–31.
56 Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*, 231.
57 See for instance Elisha Efrat and Allen G. Noble, 'Planning Jerusalem', *Geographical Review* 78, no. 4 (October, 1988): 390–1.
58 Mazza, 'The Preservation and Safeguarding of the Amenities of the Holy City', 406.
59 Félicien Caignart de Saulcy, *Narrative of a Journey Round the Dead Sea and in Bible Lands, in 1850 and 1851,* edited, with notes, by Count Edward de Warren (London: Richard Bentley, 1853).
60 See for instance Jacob Norris, 'Dragomans, tattooists, artisans: Palestinian Christians and their encounters with Catholic Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Journal of Global History* 14, no. 1 (2019): 68–86.
61 Rachael Mairs, Maya Muratov and Nicholas Reeves, *Archaeologists, Tourists, Interpreters: Exploring Egypt and the near East in the Late 19th–Early 20th Centuries* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 105–16.
62 Merav Mack and Benjamin Balint, *Jerusalem: City of the Book* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019), 113.
63 Mack and Balint, *Jerusalem: City of the Book*, 114.
64 Ibid., 114.
65 Lind, *Jerusalem Before Zionism*, 133.
66 Mairs, Muratov and Reeves, *Archaeologists, Tourists, Interpreters*, 115.
67 Ibid., 116.
68 Ibid., 116.
69 These included a sycamore on the grounds of the Russian Museum, a stump remaining at the Romanian Orthodox Church and third site that I did not manage to see given visiting hours.

Chapter 3

1 Frank Scholten, *Palestine Illustrated Vol. II*, image 10.
2 Scholten, *Palestine Illustrated Vol. II,* image 9.
3 Correspondences with the Pope, various monarchs, Zionists and Arab Nationalists are all present in his press clippings notebook. Scholten Collection Box 95, Scholten Collection.
4 2 Maccabees 6:7.
5 1 Samuel 10:24.
6 2 Chronicles 23:13.

7 For an extended discussion of this theory, see Ariella Azoulay, *Civil Imagination: A Political Ontology of Photography*, trans. L. Bethlehem (London: Verso, 2012).
8 See for instance Postcard to Geertje from Rome, 20 November 1920.
9 Evelin Dierauff, *Translating Late Ottoman Modernity in Palestine: Debates on Ethno-Confessional Relations and Identity in the Arab Palestinian Newspaper Filastin* (Gottingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht GMBH, 2020), 61.
10 Dierauff, *Translating Late Ottoman Modernity in Palestine*, 58.
11 This process of taxonomization has parallels to the work of Magnus Hirschfeld, with whom Scholten is known to have stayed in Berlin during the production of his seminal work on transvestitism, which taxonomized gender and sexuality. See Zananiri, 'Documenting the Social', 274.
12 Al 'Isa studied at the Syrian Arab College, which later became the American University of Beirut. See Dierauff, *Translating Late Ottoman Modernity in Palestine*, 58.
13 Sherene Seikaly, *Men of Capital: Scarcity and Economy in Mandate Palestine* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2016), 23–5.
14 For an interesting and extended account of this transformation and rebranding of propaganda as public relations, see Cory Wimberly, *How Propaganda Became Public Relations: Foucault and the Corporate Government of the Public*, 1st edition (Oxford: Routledge, 2020).
15 Hanna Habib Kayaleh (1913–1996) annotated a copy of Scholten's volumes with very useful identifications of people, places and events. I thank him for his work and Salim Tamari for making a copy of it available to me.
16 'Alfred Roch', *Interactive Encyclopedia of the Palestine Question*. https://www.palquest.org/en/biography/25367/alfred-roch (accessed 17 June 2025).
17 Nisa Ari, 'Orientalism Repeated: Shifting in Time in Jumana Manna's A Sketch of Manners and the Politics of Photography in Palestine', *Third Text* 30, no. 5–6 (2017): 7–8.
18 Halperin predominantly uses articles from the Jewish press of the period in lieu of court records, which could not be located. See Liora Halperin, 'A Murder in the Grove: Conceptions of Justice in Zionist Colony', *Journal of Social History* 49, no. 2 (2015): 427–51.
19 Scholten, *Palestine Illustrated Vol II,* 90–3.
20 Jumana Manna, *A Sketch of Manners* (2013), HD video.
21 Vera Tamari, *Returning: Palestinian family memories in clay reliefs, photographs and texts* (Ramallah: The Arab Mage Foundation and the Educational Bookshop, 2020), 40–1. Another photo of the event can be seen in Issam Nassar, *Laqatat Mughayira: al-taswir al-mahalli al-mubakkir fi Filastin, 1850– 1948* [Different Snapshots: Early Local Photography in Palestine, 1850–1948] (London: Qattan Foundation, 2005): Figure 134, 161.

22 Sary Zananiri, 'Costumes and the Image: Authenticity, Identity and Photography in Palestine', in *The Social and Cultural History of Palestine: Essays in Honour of Salim Tamari*, ed. Sarah Irving (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 85.
23 Box 95, Folio 1, Scholten Collection press clipping notebook.
24 Box 95, Folio 1, Scholten Collection, article from *Haaretz*.
25 Stephen Sheehi, 'Decolonising the Photography of Palestine: Searching for a Method in a Plate of Hummus', in *Imaging and Imagining Palestine: Photography Modernity and the Biblical Lens*, ed. Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 355.
26 Ted Swedenburg, *Memoires of the Revolt: The 1936–1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian Nationalist Past* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesotta Press, 1995), 117.
27 Seikaly, *Men of Capital*, 39–41.
28 Issam Nassar, Salim Tamari and Stephen Sheehi, *Camera Palaestina: Photography and the Displaced History of Palestine* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2022), 80.
29 Ari, 'Orientalism Repeated', 1–15.
30 Eddie Awad Halaby, *Palestinian Rituals of Identity: The Prophet Moses Festival in Jerusalem, 1850–1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2022), 31.
31 Nassar, Tamari and Sheehi, *Camera Palaestina*, 87.
32 Nassar, Tamari and Sheehi, *Camera Palaestina*, 88.
33 Tawfiq Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine* (London: Luzac & Co., 1927), 17.
34 Eddie Awad Halaby, *Palestinian Rituals of Identity: The Prophet Moses Festival in Jerusalem, 1850–1948* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2022), 5.
35 Halaby, *Palestinian Rituals of Identity*, 15–16.
36 Halaby, *Palestinian Rituals of Identity*, 20–1.
37 I have heard this from a variety of interlocutors of diverse religious backgrounds during field research in 2018–2019 and later in 2021–2022.
38 Lars Lind, *Jerusalem Before Zionism*, unpublished memoir, written retrospectively in 1979, 224.
39 The memoirs were written in retrospect, after the 1948 war. The conjuring of the curse of religion and politics since the Crusades hints at how even expatriate communities such as the predominantly American and Swedish American Colony situated themselves within the landscape of Jerusalem.
40 Halaby, *Palestinian Rituals of Identity*, 21.
41 17 April 1919, *Yawmiyat*, 3:127, in Halaby, *Palestinian Rituals of Identity*, 49.
42 Khalil Sakakini was excommunicated in 1912 by the Orthodox Church, ostensibly for his marriage to his wife, in retaliation by clergy for pursuing an Arabization of the Orthodox Church. He was aided in in marrying Sultana Abduh by 'Isa al 'Isa, the editor of *Filastin*. See Emmanuel Beska, 'Khalil Sakakini and Zionism Before WWI', *Jerusalem Quarterly* 63–64 (2015): 42.

43 Yair Wallach, *A City in Fragments: Urban Text in Modern Jerusalem* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2020), 195.
44 Halaby, *Palestinian Rituals of Identity*, 43–4.
45 Wallach, *A City in Fragments,* 187.
46 Halaby, *Palestinian Rituals of Identity*, 171.
47 William Thomas Massey, *How Jerusalem Was Won: Being the Record of Allenby's Campaign in Palestine* (1919), ebook available via https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/10098/pg10098.html (accessed 18 October 2019).
48 See for instance Sarah Irving, '"Indian Lady Tourists Killed at Jericho": Tourism, Pilgrimage and South-South Relations in Interwar Palestine', *Mahjar and Mashriq* 10, no. 2 (2023): 95–121.
49 Irving, 'Indian Lady Tourists Killed at Jericho', 109.
50 Halaby, *Palestinian Rituals of Identity*, 49.
51 Halaby, *Palestinian Rituals of Identity*, 172–5.
52 This can be seen in court records discussed in Chapter 5, but also in the development of scholarly works such as those of Magnus Hirschfeld and Karl Heinrich Ulrichs.
53 For instance, the problems of directly translating 'homosexual' as *mithliy* or *mithliyyeh* in Arabic and the medical connotations of such a translation, as well as a way to find a vocabulary that expresses specifically local identities with the appropriation of the term *kwir* (derived from queer), was an ongoing series of discussions for members of the Palestinian queer organization Al Qaws in the 2010s.
54 The work is now somewhat out of date but raises issues that are pertinent to transnational understandings of the history of sexuality. See Joseph Massad, 'Re-Orienting Desire: The Gay International and the Arab World', *Public Culture* 14, no. 2 (2002): 372–3.
55 See for instance the homoerotic poetry of Abu Nuwas (*c*. 756–814 CE).
56 Elif Ceylan Ozsoy, 'Decolonizing Decriminalisation Analysis: Did the Ottomans Decriminalize Homosexuality in 1858?', *Journal of Homosexuality* 66, no. 12 (2020): 1979–2002.
57 Orna Alyagon Darr, 'Narratives of "Sodomy" and "Unnatural Offences" in the Courts of Mandate Palestine (1918–1948)', *Law and History Review* 35 (2017): 241–2.
58 The legal ramifications of the Christian majority governments of the early 1900s had significant impacts under a comprehensive anti-vice bill passed in 1911 for questions like abortion, homosexuality, pornography and prostitution, as outlined by Henny Brandhorst, 'From Neo-Malthusianism to Sexual Reform: The Dutch Section of the World League for Sexual Reform', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12, no. 1 (January 2003): 43.
59 Charlotte Karem Albrecht, *Possible Histories: Arab Americans and the Queer Ecology of Peddling* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2023).

60 Nassar, Tamari and Sheehi, *Camera Palaestina*, 81.
61 Nassar, Tamari and Sheehi, *Camera Palaestina*, 81.
62 Magnus Hirschfeld, *Die Transvestiten Eine Untersuchung Über Den Erotischen Verkleidungstrieb* [The Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross-dress] (Berlin: Medicinischer Verlag Alfred Pulvermacher & Co, 1910).
63 Daryl B. Hill, 'Sexuality and Gender in Hirschfeld's Die Transvestiten. A Case of the "Elusive Evidence of the Ordinary"', *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14, no. 3 (2005): 316–32.
64 Zananiri, 'Documenting the Social.'

Chapter 4

1 Jasmin Daam, 'Palestinian Past, Zionist Future: Vocabularies of Tourism in Mandate Palestine', *Contemporary Levant* 8, no. 2 (2023): 174–88.
2 Khaled Nashef, 'Tawfiq Canaan: His Life and Work,' *Jerusalem Quarterly* 16 (2002): 16.
3 Jonathan Marc Gribetz, *Defining Neighbors: Religion, Race and the Early Zionist-Arab Encounter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 123–4.
4 Sary Zananiri, 'Costumes and the Image: Authenticity, Identity and Photography in Palestine,' in *The Social and Cultural History of Palestine: Essays in Honour of Salim Tamari*, ed. Sarah Irving (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 73–5.
5 For an extended discussion on the lucrative nature of the 'Holy Land', see Annabel Jane Wharton, *Selling Jerusalem: Relics, Replicas, Theme Parks* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
6 Issam Nasser, '"Biblification in Service of Colonialism": Jerusalem in Nineteenth-Century Photography', *Third Text* 20 (2006): 319.
7 Sary Zananiri, 'Indigeneity, Transgression and the Body: Orientalism and Biblification in the Popular Imaging of Palestinians', *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 42, no. 6 (2021): 719.
8 E. Barromi-Perlman, 'Archeology, Zionism and Photography in Palestine: Analysis of the Use of Dimensions of People in Photographs', *Journal of Landscape Ecology* 10, no. 3 (2017): 49–57.
9 Elihu Grant and Palestinian anthropologist Tawfiq Canaan who both researched *Fellahin* practices in detail did, however, extensively document the lives of *Fellahin* in their anthropological research, though neither employed photography extensively as part of their research methodology. Elihu Grant, *The Peasantry of Palestine: The Life, Manners and Customs of the Village* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1907); Tawfiq Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine* (London: Luzac's Oriental Religious Series V., 1927); Tawfiq Canaan,

Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel [Belief in Demons in the Land of the Bible] (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929); Tawfiq Canaan, 'Haunted Springs and Water Demons in Palestine', *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1 (1920/1921): 153–70; Tawfiq Canaan, 'The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition', *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 7 (1927): 159–86; Tawfiq Canaan, 'Plant-lore in Palestinian Superstition', *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 8 (1928): 129–68; Tawfiq Canaan, 'Superstition and Folklore about Bread', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 157 (1963): 36–47.

10 For instance, Nadi Abusaada discusses the Institute of Arab American Affairs and the work of Khalil Totah in proffering modern views of Palestine in the US. Likewise, Jasmin Daam discusses how tourism was mobilized in terms of arguing for Lebanese independence by highlighting technological development. See Nadi Abusaada, 'Urban Encounters: Imaging the City in Mandate Palestine,' in *Imaging and Imagining Palestine: Photography, Modernity and the Biblical Lens*, ed. Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 382–4; and Jasmin Daam, *Tourism and the Emergence of Nation-States in the Arab Eastern Mediterranean* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2023), 22–3.

11 Zananiri, 'Indigeneity, Transgression and the Body', 720.

12 See figure 6.19 in Rona Sela, 'Resilient Resistance: Colonial Biblical, Archaeological and Ethnographical Imaginaries in the Work of Chalil Raad (Khalīl Raʿd), 1891–1948', in *Imaging and Imagining Palestine: Photography, Modernity and the Biblical Lens 1918–1948*, ed. Sary Zananiri and Karène Sanchez Summerer (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

13 Sela, 'Resilient Resistance,' 219.

14 Postcards to Geertje dated 9 and 11 February 1928.

15 See the many press clippings, interviews and correspondence around his publications in Box 95, Scholten Collection.

16 Such as École Biblique et Archéologique Français de Jérusalem, the American School of Oriental Study and Research in Palestine, the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes and the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem.

17 A collection from the northern village of Safsaf has emerged with descendants who are now living in Amman. I thank Rihab Charida for tracing these materials and sharing information with me.

18 Anon., 'Een Nederlander in Nieuw-Palestina,' *Eigen Tijdschrift*, April 1934.

19 Ibid.

20 Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Books Ltd, 1978), 2.

21 The image hung in the American Colony Archive in Jerusalem for many years. Curator Rachel Lev discussed the fact that the photographer asked the shepherd

to turn the jacket inside out for a more 'authentic' photograph. A black and white version of the photograph that hasn't been coloured can be found in the Matson Collection at the Library of Congress. See 'Ramallah Peasant spinning wool' (1898–1919), American Colony Photo Department. See figure. 4.16 for a black and white version of the image without hand colouring.

22 For more of these images, see the envelope of negatives NINO F Scholten Yazūr and the various loose printed images.

23 Zananiri, 'Documenting the Social', 286–8.

24 Aref Al Aref, *Bedouin Love, Law and Legend: Dealing Exclusively with the Badu of Beersheba* (Jerusalem: Cosmos Publishing Co., 1944), 20.

25 Al Aref, *Bedouin Love, Law and Legend*, 15.

26 Al Aref, *Bedouin Love, Law and Legend*, 20–1.

27 Al Aref, *Bedouin Love, Law and Legend*, 16.

28 See for instance Dianne Sachko McLeod, 'Cross-Cultural Cross-Dressing,' 63–86; Marjorie Garber, 'Selections from the Chic of Araby,' 304–74; and Barbara Bair, 'The American Colony Photography Department,' 32.

29 See for example the very useful collection of images of cultural crossdressing curated by Joseph Malikian Tourism and Cultural Cross-Dressing in Palestine 1890 to 1929, Malikian Collection, https://malikianphotography.com/studios/tourism-and-cultural-cross-dressing-in-palestine (accessed 17 June 2025).

30 Stephen Sheehi Stephen, *The Arab Imago: A Social History of Portrait Photography 1860–1910* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 43.

31 Zananiri, 'Costumes and the Image,' 80–1.

32 Vera Tamari, *Returning: Palestinian Family Memories in Clay Reliefs, Photographs and Text* (Ramallah: Arab Image Foundation and The Educational Bookshop, 2022), 39–41.

33 Tamari, *Returning*, 38.

34 Jacob Israël de Haan, 'Dispatch from Beersheba', 21 January 1921. https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/haan008pale01_01/haan008pale01_01_0007.php (accessed 17 June 2025).

35 I thank Vera Tamari for providing this information.

36 Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri, 'Unsilencing Palestine 1922–23: hundred years after the beginning of the British Mandate – the Frank Scholten photographic collection revisited', *Contemporary Levant* 9, no. 1 (2024): 22.

37 See for instance the photo of Adeline Abiad (*c.* 1920, Haifa) or Marie al-Khazen's *Two women dressed as men* (1927, Lebanon) as examples of such photographic imagery in Yasmine Nachabe Taan, *Reading Marie Al-Khazen's Photographs: Gender, Photography, Mandate Lebanon* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021), figures 36 and 1 respectively.

38 I would like to thank Wafa Ghnaim from Tatreez and Tea for this useful information.
39 On training girls in embroidery and its economic aspects, see Raymond Kevorkian, 'From a Monastery to a Neighbourhood', 152; Abigail Jacobson, 'Little Orphans of Jerusalem', 40; Inger Marie Okkenhaug, 'A "Significant Swedish Outpost"', 396; and Yazan Kopty, 'Keith-Roach's Favourite Things', 329.
40 Yazan Kopty delves into details of a photo of a girl in a Bethlehem *thawb* taken by the American Colony Photo Department. See Yazan Kopty, 'Keith-Roach's Favourite Things', figure 9.5.
41 Rebekka Grossmann, 'Negotiating Presences: Palestine and the Weimar German Gaze', *Jewish Social Studies* 23, no. 2 (2018): 145.
42 Zerubavel, 'Memory, the Rebirth of the Native,' 322–3.
43 Zananiri, 'Costumes and the Image,' 91–2.
44 See Carol Bardenstein, 'Trees, forests, and the shaping of Palestinian and Israeli collective memory', in *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present,* ed. Mieke Bal, Jonathan V. Crewe and Leo Spitzer (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1999).
45 This reached a peak in August 1938 when the Arab leadership of the revolt commanded all urban Palestinians to wear the keffiyeh, rather than the middle-class tarboosh. See Ted Swedenburg, *Memories of Revolt: The 1936–1939 Rebellion and the Palestinian National Past* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 31–3.
46 Arnold Zadikow also produced Magnus Hirschfeld's headstone.
47 See https://www.famous-trials.com/wilde/327-home (accessed 22 February 2020).
48 Though she does not dwell at any length on Ashbee's homosexuality, the importance of David is explored in detail in Raquel Rapaport, 'The City of the Great Singer: C. R. Ashbee's Jerusalem', *Architectural History* 50 (2007): 171–210.
49 Joseph Allan Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 286.
50 Jacob Israël de Haan, 'For God or the Moroccan Boy? The poetry of Jacob Israël de Haan', trans. Jake Goldwasser, 29 June 2022. *The Baffler*, https://thebaffler.com/latest/for-god-or-the-moroccan-boy-de-haan (accessed 17 June 2025); https://www.thefreelibrary.com/The+love+songs+of+Jacob+Israel+de+Haan.-a0151013879 (accessed 17 June 2025).
51 Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*, 287.
52 Ludy Giebels, 'Jacob Israel de Haan in Mandate Palestine: Was the victim of the first Zionist political assassination a "Jewish Lawrence of Arabia"?' *Jewish Historical Studies* 46 (2014): 108.

53 Karène Sanchez Summerer, Lucai Admiraal and Karstian Oudman, *The Mulitple Lives of Jacob Israël de Haan: The Palestine Years 1919–1924* (Groningen: University of Groningen Press, 2024), 9.
54 Shlomo Nakdimon, *De Haan: The First Political Assassination in Eretz Yisrael* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Modan, 1985), 257–8.
55 Orna Alyagon Darr, 'Narratives of "Sodomy" and "Unnatural Offenses" in the Courts of Mandate Palestine (1918–48)', *Law and History Review* 35, no. 1 (2017): 235–60.
56 Khalil Sakakini, *Yawmiyat Sakakini* [Sakakini Diaries] (Ramellah: Institute for Palestine Studies), 2 July 1918.
57 UBL has undertaken a project with image recognition software from Oxford University to analyse the 26,525 digitized items.
58 Rachel Lev, formerly the archivist at the American Colony Archive in Jerusalem, relayed a story that during the making of this photograph the photographer requested that the jacket be turned inside out to give a more 'authentic' aesthetic to the image.
59 2 Samuel 15:5.

Chapter 5

1 As discussed in Chapter 3, a search of the 26,525 items digitized in the Scholten, 'man' as a search term shows 3,766 and 'men' 6,212, while 'woman' and 'women' 1,115 and 1,759 respectively.
2 This was particularly remarked on in a review of Scholten's exhibition 'Palestine in Transition' in a review by the *Jewish Guardian Newspaper*.
3 Scholten, *Palestine Illustrated Volume I*, 23–3.
4 The first quote Scholten employs is Acts 10:6.
5 Derekh Eretz Rabbah, Chapter 3.
6 An early scientific term that can be seen as mirroring the term 'homosexual'.
7 Frederick Roden, 'Queer Christian: The Catholic Homosexual Apologia and Gay/Lesbian Practice', *International Journal of Sexuality and Gender Studies* 6, no. 4 (2001): 252.
8 Noord-Hollands Archief, Arrondissementsrechtbank Amsterdam 200–129 Dossiers nr 311. Testimony Dirk Oostindie against Salomon Lam (Part of case 3022 – Kakebeen and clients).
9 The legal ramifications of the Christian majority governments of the early 1900s had significant impacts under a comprehensive anti-vice bill passed in 1911 for questions like abortion, homosexuality, pornography and prostitution as outlined by Brandhorst, 'From Neo-Malthusianism to Sexual Reform', 43.

10 Frank Scholten, *Palestine Illustrated Vol I: Gate of Entrance* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1931), 23–32.
11 There is some recent debate about the theological accuracy of this, but it is nonetheless understood popularly as such. For details on counter arguments, see Isaac W. Oliver, 'Simon Peter Meets Simon the Tanner: The Ritual Insignificance of Tanning in Ancient Judaism', *New Testament Studies* 59, no. 1 (2013): 50–60.
12 Zananiri, 'Documenting the Social', 276–9.
13 See for instance, Jerusalem Musulman 1 negatives envelope, image 46, UBL_NINO_F_Scholten_Jerusalem_Musulman_01_0046.
14 The murky links between espionage and archaeological surveying is dealt with at length in John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem: The Palestine Exploration Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000).
15 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301 Dossier 8037 – 34 Gerrit Hendrik Bakker Testimony.
16 See for instance Paul Jackson, *One of the Boys: Homosexuality in the Military During World War II* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010); Emma Vickers, *Queen and Country: Same-sex Desire in the British Armed Forces, 1939–45* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Santanu Das, '"Kiss Me, Hardy": Intimacy, Gender, and Gesture in First World War Trench Literature', *Modernism/modernity* 9, no. 1 (2002): 51–74, https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/mod.2002.0005; A. D. Harvey, 'Homosexuality and the British Army During the First World War', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 79, no. 320 (2001): 313–19, Jason Crouthamel, *An Intimate History of the Front: Masculinity, Sexuality, and German Soldiers in the First World War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War II* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).
17 George Chauncey, Jr., 'Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion? Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War One Era,' *Journal of Social History* 19, no. 2 (Winter, 1985): 189–97.
18 Chauncey, Jr., 'Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion?', 193.
19 Chauncey, Jr., 'Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion?', 195.
20 Orna Alyagon Darr, *Plausible Crime Stories: The Legal History of Sexual Offences in Mandate Palestine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 44–45.
21 For information about the formation of the Palestine Exploration Fund and its links to British military intelligence, see John James Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem*: *The Palestine Exploration Fund and British Interests in the Holy Land* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 2000). For more on Antonin Jaussen of École Biblique, a brother and scholar, who is known to have passed intelligence to the French state during World War I, see Karène Sanchez Summerer and Norig Neveu, 'The Dominicans' photographic collection in Jerusalem: Beyond a Catholic

perception of the Holy Land?', in *Imaging and Imagining Palestine: Photography, Modernity and the Biblical Lens, 1918–1948*, ed. Karène Sanchez Summerer and Sary Zananiri (Boston: Brill, 2021). Likewise rumours about the Elia Photos Service are mentioned in Stephen Sheehi, 'Decolonising the Photography of Palestine: Searching for a Method in a Plate of Hummus,' in *Imaging and Imagining Palestine: Photography Modernity and the Biblical Lens,* 352.

22 Chauncey, Jr., 'Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion?', 198–9.

23 Noord-Hollands Archief, Gerechtshof Amsterdam 29–301, Dossier 8037.

24 1 Samuel 17:25.

25 1 Samuel 18:1.

26 1 Samuel 18:7.

27 1 Samuel 18:17–19.

28 1 Samuel 18:20–5.

29 1 Samuel 18:27.

30 1 Samuel 19:1–16.

31 1 Samuel 31.

32 2 Samuel 1:25–6.

33 2 Samuel 23:16–17.

34 Vladimir Jabotinsky, *Samson the Nazarite* (London: M. Secker, 1930).

35 David Biale, *Eros and the Jews: From Biblical Israel to Contemporary America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 191.

36 See for instance Phillip Hollander, 'Contested Zionist Masculinity and the Redemption of the Schlemiel in Levi Aryeh Arieli's "Allah Karim!"',*Israel Studies* 17, no. 3 (Fall, 2012): 92–118, 191. Svetlana Natkovich, 'Samson, the Hebrew Novel: The History of the Writing and Reception of Jabotinsky's Novel and the Consolidation of the Norms of Realism in Hebrew Literature', *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 110, no. 4 (Fall, 2020): 733–55.

37 Todd Samuel Presner, *Muscular Judaism: The Jewish Body and the Politics of Regeneration* (London: Routledge, 2007), 1–23.

38 Andreas Krass, Moshe Sluhovsky and Yuval Yonay (eds.), *Queer Jewish Lives Between Central Europe and Mandatory Palestine: Biographies and Geographies* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2022).

39 Andreas Krass, 'Magnus Hirschfeld in Palestine: The Journey of a German Jewish Sexologist (February 14–March 13, 1932),' in *Queer Jewish Lives Between Central Europe and Mandatory Palestine: Biographies and Geographies*, eds. Andreas Krass, Moshe Sluhovsky and Yuval Yonay (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2022), 194.

40 See Scholten's Jerusalem I album.

41 Maayan Hillel, 'Cultural Diplomacy in Mandatory Haifa: The Role of Christian Communities in the Cultural Transformation of the City,' in *European Cultural Diplomacy and Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine 1918–1948: Between*

Contention and Connection, ed. Karène Sanchez Summerer (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 144–5.

42 Matan Boord, 'Creating the Labor-Zionist Family: Masculinity, Sexuality, and Marriage in Mandate Palestine,' *Jewish Social Studies* 22, no. 3 (Spring/Summer, 2017): 46.

43 Boord, 'Creating the Labor-Zionist Family', 46–52.

44 Biale, *Eros and the Jews*, 183.

45 Biale, *Eros and the Jews*, 192–3.

46 Rebekka Grossmann, 'Scholten's Tel Aviv: Space, Statement and Idea' (forthcoming 2026).

47 Biale, *Eros and the Jews,* 196.

48 For instance, a group of men and boys swimming in a water hole in Jordan, boys at the beach in Jaffa, an agricultural worker washing sheep and a *fellaha* breastfeeding a baby.

49 Biale, *Eros and the Jews,* 185.

50 Krass, 'Magnus Hirschfeld in Palestine', 189.

51 Biale, *Eros and the Jews*, 198.

52 Sabra is the fruit of the prickly pear. The term is used to describe Palestinian-born Jews because it is prickly on the outside and sweet on the inside.

53 Sheehi, 'Decolonising the Photography of Palestine', 342.

54 There are several envelopes marked Tel Aviv that utilize a similar number system to his volumes on Jaffa, however no notes that would yield information in the same ways as his published works is contained in the collection.

55 Zachary Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906–1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 65.

56 Mark LeVine, *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine, 1880–1948* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 60.

57 LeVine, *Overthrowing Geography*, 61.

58 Maoz Azaryahu and Ilan Troen, *Tel-Aviv, the First Century: Visions, Designs, Actualities* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2012), 4.

Chapter 6

1 Benyamin Netanyahu, 'Statement by PM Netanyahu,' *Press Release*, 28 October 2023. https://www.gov.il/en/pages/statement-by-pm-netanyahu-28-oct-2023 (accessed 18 June 2025).

2 A report early in the war by the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) from 2 February 2024, stated that more than 200 of 350 heritage sites in Gaza including World Heritage sites and museums had been damaged or destroyed

within the first three months of fighting. ICOMOS Palestine, 'Report #3: New evidences indicated the devastation in Palestine: Genocide, Urbicide and Ecocide (Documentation and evidence gathered 16 December 2023 to 31 January 2024)', *Palestinian Association of on Monuments and Sites.* 2 February 2024. https://drive.google.com/file/d/18U8czolQ45afKXFZB1Fq7uxZ8_n4ouG9/view (accessed 18 June 2025).

3 Özge Calafato, 'Over verlies, ontwrichting en intimiteit: de erfenis van Gaza's Photo Kegham (1944–1981)' [Of Loss, Disruption, and Intimacies: The Afterlives of Gaza's Photo Kegham (1944–1981)], *ZemZem Tijdschrift* 1 (2024): 109–21.

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